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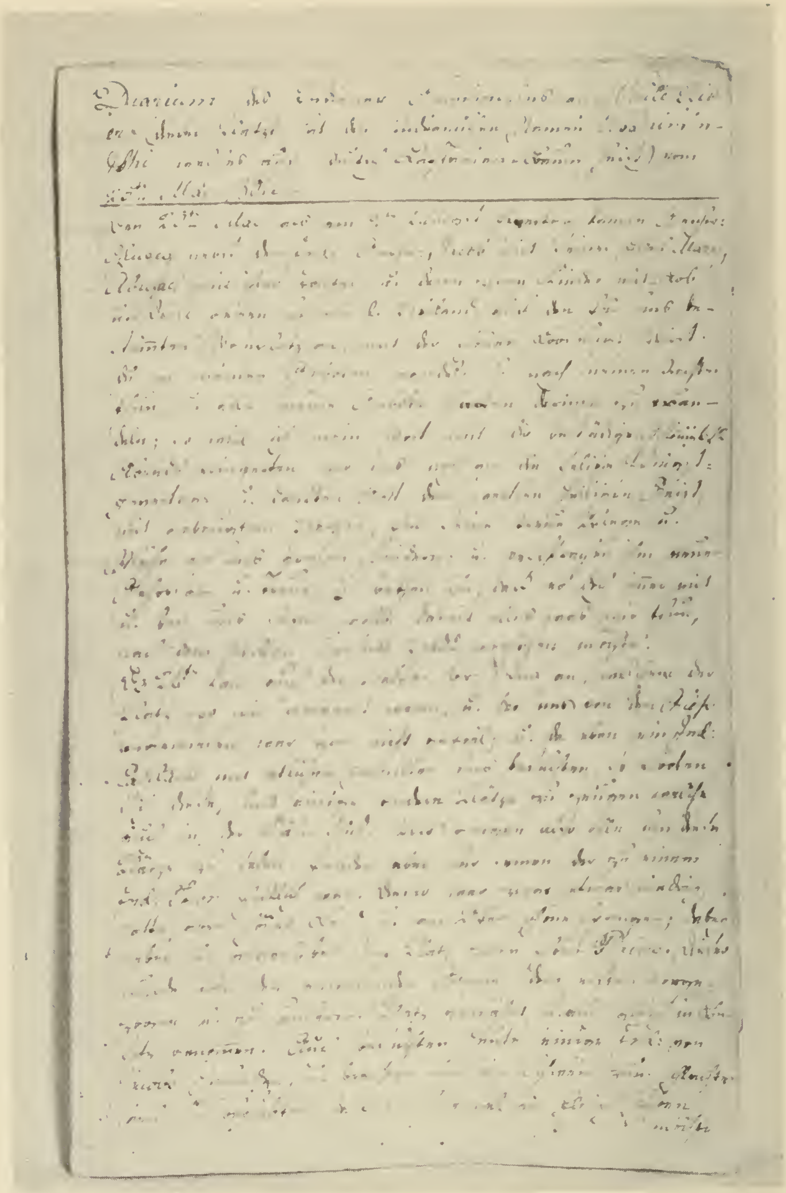

First Page of White River Mission Diary

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THE MORAVIAN INDIAN MISSION ON WHITE RIVER

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THE MORAVIAN INDIAN MISSION ON WHITE RIVER

DIARIES AND LETTERS
MAY 5, 1799, TO NOVEMBER 12, 1806

Translated from the German of the Original Manuscript
By Harry E. Stocker, Herman T. Frueauff,
and Samuel C. Zeller

Edited by
LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON
LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

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TO THE LATE ARTHUR W. BRADY
FROM WHOSE INTEREST IN THE
MORAVIAN INDIAN MISSION ON
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FOREWORD

The proposal to publish documents and translations of documents from the Moravian Mission on White River in Indiana was taken up more than twenty years ago by the Indiana Historical Society at the instance of the late Arthur W. Brady, of Anderson. Mr. Brady arranged for the translation of the Mission Diary and some of the Mission Letters, and from time to time collected considerable information. His interest, incidentally, extended back into the prehistory of his county of Madison; he was effective in the preservation of the prehistoric mounds on White River above Anderson, and with the late Charles T. Sansberry was instrumental in assuring their permanence as a state park. At his death in 1933 his manuscripts, incomplete and unedited, were entrusted to me for further work and for publication.

Several circumstances pointed to Dr. Lawrence Henry Gipson as the logical choice for editor. He had served as professor of history and political science at Wabash College from 1911 to 1924 and was familiar with the Indiana locale and its history. As the present head of the department of history and government at Lehigh University at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, he has available the records of the Moravian Church, which are deposited in the new archives building on the campus of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary at Bethlehem. His consent to undertake the task of assembling, checking, supplementing, and notating the materials collected by Mr. Brady lays all who are interested in the history of this region under great obligation to him and his associates.

The story of the Mission on White River, as a chapter in the history of the Moravian Church, has been told by Dr. Harry E. Stocker in his "History of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians on White River." The spirit and the heroism of the representatives of the church are revealed in this, the first and probably the most inauspicious effort of a Protestant body to save the Indians of

Indiana Territory from their own savagery and from the vices of the whites. The Diary and the Letters of the missionaries are of great general interest because of the light they throw upon the Indians of the White River region in the years 1801-1806. It is true that the missionaries showed little interest or curiosity concerning the history or ethnology of the people among whom they had settled. Their concern was with the problem of converting "the heathen" to the Moravian Church, but the unrest about them and their own uneasy situation forced them to observe, with eyes sharpened by anxiety, the movements taking place among the White River tribes. The documents here presented constitute, therefore, a unique contribution to our knowledge of these Indians and of the way in which they met the impact of the forces of civilization.

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN
Director Indiana Historical Bureau

PREFACE

THE translation of the Moravian White River Indian Mission Diary and the Mission Letters, as well as excerpts from the Goshen Diary and the Bethlehem Diary, which form part of the great collection of manuscripts in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, has been the work of three members of the Moravian Church Communion: the late Dr. Harry E. Stocker, who at the time was the pastor of the First Moravian Church of South Bethlehem and also chairman of the Country Church Commission of the Moravian Church and who carried to completion most of the work—it would appear between the years 1911 and 1919; the late Herman T. Frueauff, who was instructor in German and French at the Frances Steitler School, in Allentown, Pennsylvania; and Professor Samuel C. Zeller, of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary located in Bethlehem, who with the competent assistance of Mrs. Zeller not only completed the translation of the Diary, but carefully verified and here and there amended the work undertaken by his predecessors at the request of Mr. Arthur Brady, of Anderson, Indiana, whose home was near the site of the Mission.

It should be made clear that in addition to the Diary which is here presented and which was actually written by Kluge, the senior missionary, there is also in the Moravian Archives a copy of what for convenience sake I have designated as the shorter Diary. The latter, in the handwriting of various people, follows closely in most respects the Diary proper, but is abbreviated in form, with here and there slight differences which I have introduced into the footnotes. According to notations on the margin of the manuscript, it was prepared for the purpose of bringing the activities of the Mission to the attention of the local churches, especially those at Bethlehem and at Nazareth in Pennsylvania, and at Hope in New Jersey.

It may be pertinent to make clear that most of the official Moravian Church records for the period under consideration are in German. In fact the Diary of the Bethlehem Congregation, beginning in 1742, or perhaps more accurately in 1744, continued to be written in German until on July 12, 1865, it was changed to English.

In more specifically outlining the work of the translators, it should be pointed out that Professor Zeller translated that portion of the Diary that covers the journey of the missionaries from Bethlehem to Goshen and also the excerpt from the Diary of the Bethlehem Congregation; Mr. Frueauff, that which embraces the trip from Goshen to the White River; and Dr. Stocker the remainder, which has to do with the Mission proper, together with those portions of the Goshen Diary that are not in English. The translation of the missionaries' letters was also the work of Dr. Stocker, who is the author of the "History of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians on White River," and other works relating to the activities of the Moravian Church. The editor has provided the Introduction and the footnotes and has assumed the responsibility of making such incidental changes in the text as were necessary to give all portions of the Diary and Letters desirable uniformity.

I am grateful for the very generous co-operation of Professor and Mrs. Zeller, of Bishop John T. Hamilton, of President William N. Schwarze, of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, who is also in charge of the Archives of the Moravian Church, and of the Reverend Kenneth G. Hamilton, who is assistant archivist.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY
BETHLEHEM, PA.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The reader is hardly prepared to approach understandingly the dramatic story unfolded by the Moravian White River Indian Mission Diary without at least some acquaintance with the Moravians themselves, and especially with the character of their earlier missionary activities. In other words, what was so hopefully and withal so daringly attempted in Indiana Territory between the years 1801 and 1806, but which met with failure, must be viewed and judged in light of earlier successes and failures of this religious denomination in the mission field.

For over two centuries now the Moravian Church, known also as the *Unitas Fratrum* or the Unity of the Brethren, has devoted itself to mission enterprises among the natives of North America. It has also been active in South America and in the West Indies. Its zeal, its devotion to the ideals for which it stands, its sacrifices to the end of bringing men—especially those living in a state of savagery—to a saving knowledge of the Christian gospel, is one of the most inspiring chapters in the history of modern Christian evangelization. The record is the more remarkable in light of the numerical weakness of the Church.

The first of these missions was undertaken in 1732 from Herrnhut in Saxony, the center of Moravian activity, when Leonard Dober went to the Danish island of St. Thomas to labor among the negro slaves. Then followed that to the Eskimos of Greenland in 1733. The third, planned to reach the Indians and the negro slaves of Georgia and South Carolina, was combined with the idea of colonization and was undertaken in 1734. Then came deputations to Surinam, Dutch Guiana, in 1735 and in 1737 to the Hottentots of South Africa as well as to the blacks of the Gulf of Guinea. In 1740 a mission to the natives of Ceylon was launched and the same year that to the Christian slaves of Algeria, together with efforts to Christianize the Lapps of Sweden and the Samoyeds of Northern Russia. That not all of these, nor all of the others that followed during the eighteenth century, viz.: to Persia, to Egypt, to Walachia, to Tranquebar in the East Indies, to Labrador, and to Jamaica, met with success does not take away from the significance of the activities of a denomination that in 1732 numbered within its entire membership hardly more than six hundred communicants, many of whom were incapacitated from giving any effective aid in promoting these worthy enterprises. Some of these enterprises, incidentally, have been continued with great perseverance and singleness of purpose up to the present.[1]

The spirit animating the Moravians is sympathetically characterized by the Reverend John C. Ogden, an Episcopalian clergyman who visited Bethlehem in the year 1799 and who wrote: "Sure of affection, confidence and support, both men and women adventure upon untried and hazardous errands to plant the gospel, and civilize the untutored. If extensive benevolence can add to human joys, those people must possess a large share of felicity, in connection with their designs and proceedings."[2]

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[1] The predominantly missionary character of the Moravian Church today is clear in light of the fact that 229 home churches with a total membership of less than 59,000—aided by some 30,000 "Diaspora" members, adherents of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions, as well as by the London Association, recruited from various Protestant churches—are supporting 337 foreign missions. *The Moravian,* August, 1937. In 1796 the following "Settlements of the United Brethren in Heathen countries" were listed: In the Danish West Indies, New Herrnhut, Nisky, Friedensberg, Friedensthal, Bethany, and Emmaus—all for negro slaves; in Jamaica two settlements; in Antigua, Gracehill and one at St. Johns; in Barbados, one near Bridgetown; in St. Christopher, one at Basseterre; in South America, at Paramaribo, Sommeladyk, Bambey, and at Hope on the Corentyne; in the East Indies, Brethren's Garden near Tranquebar; in Siberia at Sarepta; in South Africa at Baviaan's Kloof; in Greenland, New Herrnhut, Lichtenfels, and Lichtenau; in Labrador, Nain, Okakabe, and Hopedale. John C. Ogden, *An Excursion into Bethlehem & Nazareth . . . in the Year 1799* (1805), 116-18. This does not take into account of course the various missions among Indian groups living within the present limits of the United States and Canada. With the exception of Fairfield in Canada, these are shown on the large map prepared for George Henry Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America,* published in 1794.

The beginnings of Moravian activity within Pennsylvania really date from the appearance of the evangelist George Böhnisch, who left Germany in 1734 for that province with a group of Schwenkfelder refugees. Then in 1740, with the collapse of the Moravian activities in Georgia as the result of the outbreak of war and the conscientious scruples then held by all Moravians against bearing arms, a number of the Brethren came to the province with George Whitefield. In the following year they laid the foundations of their first settlement, which they named Bethlehem. Soon afterwards the town of Nazareth was founded to the north of the latter place, and from these two centers flowed streams of evangelistic activity, together with the establishment of a number of other Moravian settlements, including that of Bethabara in North Carolina.

It was at this period that the Indian mission to the Mahican was inaugurated at Shekomeko in Dutchess County, New York, and at other neighboring Indian villages stretching over into Connecticut. However, as the result of hostile legislation against the Moravians secured by those within the province of New York who were interested in the exploitation of the natives and who resented the efforts of the missionaries to win them from their intemperate ways, it was necessary for the latter to give up their activities there in 1744.[3] They thereupon re-established the converts within the borders of Pennsylvania. This was done in 1745 at a place on the Mahoning, that flows into the Lehigh River beyond the Blue Mountains, which was given the name Gnadenhütten. The work so prospered at this place that in two years some five hundred Indian converts, especially from the

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[2] Ogden, *op. cit.*, 26.

[3] For the history of the Moravian mission to Shekomeko, see Loskiel, *op. cit.*, pt. 2:9-87 *passim.*

Delaware tribe, were settled there. Others, apparently not including any of the Shekomeko Christians, were placed at a second mission, called Shamokin, on the site of the present city of Sunbury. Then, with the outbreak of the French and Indian War, came the destruction of Gnadenhütten by hostile French Indians, the attempt among others even less successful to establish the Christian mission at Nain near Bethlehem, and the virtual imprisonment of the Christianized Indians at Philadelphia which continued until after the close of Pontiac's War.[4]

When the Moravians at last turned to re-establish their Christian Indian settlement, it was necessary to find a location farther to the west. A site that seemed to be favorable was secured at the point where the Wyalusing flows into the Susquehanna River, in what is now Bradford County, Pennsylvania, well beyond the white settlements. There in 1765—quite ignoring the political excitement in America occasioned by the passing of the Stamp Act—the settlement of Friedenshütten (Tents of Peace) was founded by David Zeisberger, known as the Apostle to the Delawares.[5] In spite of the success of the Moravians in winning many additional converts at this place, the mission activities were so embarrassed by disputes over the land of this region that it seemed desirable to accept an invitation from the so-called Grand Council of those Delawares who were living in the Ohio Country to settle in the Tuscarawas Valley.[6] Between two and three hundred of the converts were led across the Alleghenies and finally established on the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum at three settlements called respectively Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten—named in memory of the former mission on the Mahoning—and Lichtenau.[7] Once again, in spite of opposition on the part of the pagan Delawares of this region, the work prospered, indeed almost beyond the highest anticipations of its supporters. Farms were laid out, crops were planted, and the converts strove to adapt themselves to civilized and Christian standards of living under the encouragement of their devoted and kindly pastors.[8]

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[4] For an extensive account of activities at Gnadenhütten and Nain, see Loskiel, *op. cit.*, pt. 2 *passim.*

[5] Edmund de Schweinitz, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1870), 307-18; John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians . . .* (Philadelphia, 1820), 94-122. Heckewelder was closely identified with the Indian missions on the Susquehanna and the Tuscarawas and his account is especially important.

[6] Moravian activity in the transappalachian region began with the work of Christian Frederick Post, earlier identified with the New York and Connecticut as well as other missions, who went

The fame of these Christian Indian settlements spread. Members of distant tribes came to observe, and left

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there in 1758, commissioned by the British authorities to detach the Ohio Valley Indians from the French interest. In this he succeeded. For his "Journal," see *Pennsylvania Archives,* 1 series: 3 (1853) :520-44. In 1761 he returned to the Ohio and the following year sought, in company with John Heckewelder, to establish a mission on the Tuscarawas near Sandy Creek. However, the hostility of the natives was too great at this juncture. See Jesse Blickensderfer, "Establishment of the Moravian Congregations in Ohio," Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1 (1858-1876): 154-55. The Tuscarawas is called the Muskingum by the missionaries.

[7] Schönbrunn and Gnadenhütten came into existence in 1772 but Lichtenau was not established until 1776.

[8] The rules of the Congregation, some eighteen in number, and adopted in 1772, are presented by Heckewelder, who aided in drawing them up. *Narrative of the Mission among the Indians,* 122-24. These required, among other things, abstention from idolatry, witchcraft, incontinency, polygamy and polyandry, thieving, murder, drunkenness, lying, and idleness; also from going into debt, from going on long hunts without permission, and from marrying without permission of one's parents. All within the towns were expected to attend the meetings for divine service, and to honor father and mother and support them in distress and in old age; they were also expected to assist in the erection of public buildings and in other ways. With the coming of the Revolutionary War two other rules were adopted: one forbidding any member from going to war and shedding blood; the other against purchasing from warriors any of the plunder of their victims. *Ibid.,* 124.

deeply impressed with what they had heard and seen. In the words of one of the missionaries, John Heckewelder,[9] "Visitors were almost daily arriving from Gekelemuckpechink . . . and other [Delaware] villages, to take a view of the Christian Indians' settlement, and witness their industry, especially their buildings, and ploug[h]ed grounds. Added to this, as a curiosity, they were astonished to see such a number of their nation living so happily together, and putting their hands to manual labour. To all who came to them, the gospel was preached, which was the cause of many joining the congregation . . . amongst whom was a celebrated chief, named Echpalawahund, whose exemplary life, from the day of his conversion unto his death, was a happy example for the imitation of others."

Then came the Revolutionary War. This brought but mental anguish to the Moravians who, as their history indicates, bore only good will toward all mankind, and who could not bear to see any interruption to their important evangelistic activities by those who sought to settle what the Moravians considered less vital matters by force and bloodshed.[10] At Schönbrunn, in 1777, some of the Indians, lured by the hostile Mingo, became apostates. This led to the desertion of the town by the faithful and the tearing down of the chapel.[11] The congregation was divided between Gnadenhütten and Lichtenau. During the next three years these two towns were abandoned in turn, and New Schönbrunn and Salem were built in the attempt to establish settlements where missionaries and believing Indians could find safety. The constant small excursions of war parties, says Loskiel, "though troublesome in a degree, were yet not productive of much interruption to the Indian congregation."[12] But in the fall of 1781 the settlements were suddenly uprooted by an incursion of hostile Hurons, Delawares, and Shawnee, led by a British officer who evacuated the villages, carrying some four hundred of the captives to the Sandusky; whereupon, they were set adrift when it had been ascertained that they were noncombatants and had preserved a strict attitude of neutrality in the civil war then coming to a close.[13]

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[9] *Narrative*, 126-27.

[10] This applies not only to the Moravians at the Indian missions but to those living in the settled congregations in the East. It must be remembered that important Moravian activities were going on in England and the connection between all units within the Church was very close.

[11] The following is a description of Schönbrunn just before the time of its desertion: "Shonbrun had been the largest and handsomest town the Christian Indians had hitherto built; containing upwards of sixty dwelling houses, most of which were of squared timbers. The street, from east to west, was long, and of a proper width; from the centre, where the chapel stood, another street run off to the north. The inhabitants had, for the greatest part, become husbandmen. They had large fields under good rail fences, well pailed gardens, and fine fruit trees; besides herds of cattle, horses and hogs." Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, 157.

After a winter of almost unendurable hardship, about one hundred and fifty of the converts decided to return to the Tuscarawas in the hope of being able to gather at least some of the fruits of their harvests which still remained in the fields.[14] At Gnadenhütten there now occurred the massacre of over ninety of them, without resistance, by the American colonel David Williamson. Williamson had come with a force from the Monongahela determined to avenge the murder of a neighboring family by an Indian band, on suspicion, it seems without any proper foundation, that these refugees were implicated in the crime.[15]

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[12] Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, pt. 3:132. He says also: "As to the internal state of the congregation, this period was distinguished by particular grace. The missionaries lived in harmony, serving the Lord with gladness. Among the Indian Brethren and Sisters brotherly love bore the sway, and it was a pleasure to observe the willingness with which they avoided every thing that might tend to disturb it." *Ibid.*, pt. 3:139.

[13] At this period, many of the Indians on the Sandusky in despair gave up their Christian practices but remained in the settlement in defiance of all remonstrances. Some of these Indians later wandered off to the Delaware settlements on the White River. *Ibid.*, pt. 3:171-72.

[14] When carried away from their villages in the autumn they had been compelled to leave behind two hundred horned cattle, four hundred hogs, a large quantity of Indian corn in storage, and three hundred acres of ripening corn in the fields. *Ibid.*, pt. 3:161.

This was a terrible blow to the missionary activities of Zeisberger and his fellow Moravians. The survivors of the desolated Tuscarawas villages, after a temporary sojourn in the Chippewa country within what is now the state of Michigan and at other places, were in 1792 planted on the Thames River in Canada where the Christian Indian village of Fairfield arose.[16] In spite of the growth of material prosperity at the new settlement, Zeisberger and many of his converts longed to return to the Tuscarawas. This was made possible when, after the defeat of the hostile Indians by General Wayne in 1794, an Indian reserve was established in the Tuscarawas Valley.[17] As a result, the saintly and venerable leader now returned with a group of devoted Indians to the place of his earlier labors, and in 1798 the Christian Indian village of Goshen arose on the opposite bank of the Tuscarawas not far from the site of the once flourishing settlement of New Schönbrunn.

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[15] Loskiel, *op. cit.*, pt. 3:174-85; Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 302-28; Joseph E. Weinland, *The Romantic Story of Schoenbrunn the First Town in Ohio . . .* (2d ed., 1929), 26-27.

[16] The activities of the refugees from the Muskingum are minutely described in the *Diary of David Zeisberger . . .*, 1781-1798, translated and edited by Eugene F. Bliss (2 vols. Cincinnati, 1885).

[17] Upon the establishment of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Moravians took steps to secure for the Christian Indians a title to the lands where they had dwelt on the Tuscarawas. In 1783 a memorial to the Congress of the Confederation requested that reservation be made of lands within which the towns of Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten, and Salem had been established. In 1785 it was provided "That the said towns, and so much of the adjoining lands as in the judgment of the geographer of the United States may be sufficient for them . . . shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians formerly settled there." Blickensderfer, "Moravian Congregations in Ohio," Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1:156. In 1787 came the organization of the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, in order to facilitate the legal tenure of the land for the benefit of the natives. As the result of disturbed conditions in the Ohio Valley, the survey was not actually made until the year 1797, when General Rufus Putnam, the Surveyor General, accompanied by John Heckewelder and other Moravians, laid out three tracts of four thousand acres each, containing the above sites. Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 405.

It is now necessary to turn our attention to that portion of the old Northwest Territory that in 1800 was given the name Indiana Territory. Here were dwelling not only Miami, Potawatomi, Piankashaw, Wea, Wyandot, and Shawnee, but also perhaps the most numerous body of the Delawares, a tribe scattered over a vast territory from Canada on the north and New Jersey on the east to the Mississippi River and beyond on the west.[18] The latter tribe at this period was roaming over the east central portion of the Territory, but had its villages, some nine in number, upon the upper waters of the West Fork of White River. While most of them were pagans, they had been joined by a number of the apostate Delaware refugees after the tragic experiences of the years 1781-1782 on the Muskingum and the Sandusky.

Most of these Delawares had had, it appears, but little contact with white people outside the barter which was carried on with the Indian traders, a rather dissolute lot. The latter were either established among them in their villages or were living along the Wabash and its tributaries at other points, or at Fort Hamilton on the Great Miami, or at Fort Wayne, and periodically resorted to them with their wares or drew the natives to their posts. Permanent white settlers within the Territory at this juncture, without reference to the old French settlements within the Territory to the west and north, outside the boundaries of the present state of Indiana, were concentrated within the region of Clark's Grant at the Falls of the Ohio and about the territorial capital, Vincennes.[19] It would appear that this contact with the traders had had a most demoralizing effect upon the Delawares, who sought above all other things the white man's firewater. They were, as a consequence, living in a state of extreme degradation at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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[18] The location of the Indian tribes living within the present limits of Indiana in 1800 is shown on a map in the Indiana *Geological Report* of 1882, opposite page 37. This is reproduced in Logan Esarey's *History of Indiana* . . . (3d ed., 2 vols. Fort Wayne, 1924), 1:84.

It may be noted that the proposal to establish a Christian mission among the White River Delawares was made by Zeisberger, the most experienced worker in the American Indian mission field. He had been informed, while still at Fairfield in Canada, that some of these Indians were anxious for the gospel, among them the elderly Head Chief Tetepachsit.[20] Aside from sending messengers to survey the situation nothing was done about the project at this juncture. However, after the founding of Goshen some of the Christian Delawares living there sent a message to the White River by Chief Hackinkpomska,[21] a witch doctor who had come East and was returning to his people, inviting them to come frequently to the mission to hear the Word of God. This was in the spring of 1799. The following spring a reply was received from the Grand Council which, while ignoring the invitation to come to Goshen, extended an invitation to the Christian Delawares on the Tuscarawas to join their fellow tribesmen on the White River, offering them a large tract of land where, without fear of molestation, they might settle and carry on peaceful activities such as characterized the settlement on the Tuscarawas.

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[19] Esarey, *op. cit.*, 1:230-31.

[20] Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 2:496. Zeisberger spelled the name Tedpachxit; Heckewelder, who for many years was associated with this chief, gives his name in his *Narrative* (p. 410) as Tatapachkse; in Wayne's treaty the name is spelled Tetabokshke. Jacob P. Dunn, in Notes on the Moravian Diary (Brady Papers, Indiana Historical Society), says the proper form is Ta-ta-pach-sit or Te-te-pachsit. For other variants of the name, see Charles N. Thompson, *Sons of the Wilderness: John and William Conner* (Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, vol. 12, Indianapolis, 1937), 199.

[21] The name, meaning "He Walks on the Ground," appears in many forms. *Ibid.* The spelling Hack-ink-pom-ska was preferred by the late Jacob P. Dunn in his *True Indian Stories, with Glossary of Indiana Indian Names* (Indianapolis, 1909), 68.

It may be noticed in this connection, and it is not without significance in the light of what transpired, that the Moravian missionaries were not specifically included in the invitation nor was any longing expressed for the gospel. This was an intimation that what was uppermost in the minds of the White River Delawares, as was later stated with frankness, was the drawing together of the scattered bands of their tribe in order to strengthen their position, which was very much weakened as the result of dispersion. The Moravians, however, chose to regard it as an invitation to the missionaries as well, reasoning that the Council must have understood that the Christian Indians would not care to go without their teachers. Zeisberger, therefore, felt justified in assuming the responsibility of notifying the Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem in the spring of 1800 that the way was now open to carry the work of evangelization into the White River country.

The Helpers' Conference, the official board of the Moravian Church in America and in charge of the general administration of the Moravian congregations and Indian missions in the New World, considered the matter with care from April until August, whereupon it was determined to undertake the new enterprise.[22] Two volunteers, thereupon, appeared: one, a young teacher at Nazareth Hall, Abraham Luckenbach, the other, John Peter Kluge, who had recently come to Bethlehem after laboring for some ten years among the Arawak Indians in Dutch Guiana.[23] As Kluge had expressed a willingness to marry, the elders sought a suitable helpmate within the Bethlehem congregation by means of the lot, which apparently had come into use among the Moravians at Herrnhut in 1727 and was employed by the Church for various purposes as late as 1889.[24]

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[22] John Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church known as the Moravian Church* . . . (Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, vol. 6, Bethlehem, Pa., 1900), 295; Harry E. Stocker, "A History of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians on the White River in Indiana," Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, 10: pts. 3 and 4 (Bethlehem, Pa., 1917): 252. A limited number of copies of Stocker's history were also issued as separates.

Since those upon whom the lot fell were not bound by it against their will, the attempt at Bethlehem to provide Kluge with a wife failed, as did the attempt at Nazareth. However, at Lititz, Anna Maria Ranck[25] accepted the call when she was chosen and, after the marriage—which proved to be a happy one—she was installed as an acolyte at the same time that her husband and Luckenbach were ordained to the diaconate. Thereupon, on October 15, 1800, the three started by wagon for Goshen where it was planned that they should remain for the winter, studying the Delaware language and perfecting their arrangements for the White River Mission. In journeying along they maintained their spirits with a hymn prepared for the occasion which began with the words,

> "Ihr Friedensboten ziehet an die Wabash hin,
> Predigt den Heiland mit frohem Sinn."

As the Diary indicates, the three reached Goshen on November 18 and left for Indiana Territory on March 24 of the following year, accompanied down the Muskingum by thirteen Christian Indians—five of these were children—and two others who paddled the canoe assigned to the Kluges. Their journey down the Ohio to the Whitewater River and then to the forks of the latter and thereupon overland a hundred miles to the Indian town of

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[23] Heckewelder, who must have been acquainted with Kluge, in his *Narrative* (p. 407) gives the name Natuge. It is quite obviously a printer's error which was not detected.

[24] Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 44 ff. *passim.* Kluge and Luckenbach also used the lot.

[25] The name is also spelled Rank and Ranke. The editor follows the form employed in Kluge's autobiographical statement.

Wapicomekoke[26] on the White River near where Muncie now stands is fully described, as are their fruitless labors at the mission established some twenty miles below this town, near the present site of Anderson, to Christianize and civilize the Delawares of Indiana Territory.

Unhappily, this, the first Protestant mission within what is now the state of Indiana, was instituted at a most unpropitious juncture of affairs when, in fact, a combination of events was drawing the Indians into violent opposition to the presence of the whites. First of all, with the organization of Indiana Territory in 1800 there came a demand from those who were pressing into the region to the north of the Ohio that additional lands be secured for settlement beyond the bounds set by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, bounds to the western advance of the white man which the Indians understood had been fixed for all time.[27] In fact, Governor William Henry Harrison apparently had little or no interest in seeing the Indians rooted permanently to the soil and embodied in the Moravian congregational plan of settlement called for on the White River as on the Tuscarawas; if the testimony of the Indians can be accepted he even expressed an indifference bordering on hostility to the work of the Moravian missionaries. He seems to have thought almost exclusively in terms of making the Territory a white man's country.[28] Hardly had Harrison taken up his duties at Vincennes when he turned to the negotiation of treaties for the cession of additional lands. A preliminary conference with the Wabash tribes took place at the territorial capital in September, 1802, and was followed by two treaties in 1803; a third, fourth, and fifth came in 1804; a sixth and seventh in 1805. As a result, land to the south of what is now Indianapolis—embracing in all some forty-six thousand square miles in what is now Indiana and Illinois—was deeded to the government.[29] These treaties were entered into only with the head men of those tribes that were held to enjoy proprietary rights. In this connection the warlike Shawnee and Wyandot, refugee tribes from the East, were ignored, although they felt that they had been guaranteed rights in the Indian lands as a result of the Treaty of Greenville; they fiercely resented this practice by which the chieftains of individual tribes disposed of lands which were the common property of all.[30]

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[26] Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 48, 285, gives the following variant spellings, Wahpicomekoke and Wahpikahmekunk from Wahpikahmeki (White Waters). Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols. U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30*, Washington, D. C., 1907, 1910), 2:912, uses the form Wapicomekoke. Trowbridge gives the name of the river as "*Waupeekomeekee* (or *White Water*)." Vernon Kinietz (ed.), *Meearmeear Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (*Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938), 11.

[27] The treaty, however, made secure the possession of Vincennes and Clark's Grant, and also included the old French post Ouiatenon on the Wabash, near the site of the present city of Lafayette, and some eight square miles about Fort Wayne, together with a wedge-shaped strip of land known as the "Gore," which until the Ohio Enabling Act of 1802, was a part of the Northwest Territory and which was then attached by proclamation to Clark County.

Again, some of the Shawnee in migrating westward from their abodes in Ohio planted settlements close to the Delawares in the White River district.[31] Much more warlike and virile, they exerted great pressure upon the latter against submitting to what they considered the effeminizing influence of the whites and especially that of the Christian missionaries, prophesying that the latter would soften them and then would call in the soldiers to destroy them, as their people had been destroyed on the Muskingum. This same sentiment was re-echoed by some of the former converts who upon joining the White River Delawares had lapsed into barbarism.

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[28] According to the "Journal of the Proceedings at the Indian Treaty at Fort Wayne and Vincennes September 1 to October 27, 1809," Harrison later agreed to assist the Delawares dwelling to the west of the Mississippi to persuade their kinsmen about the White River to join them. Logan Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, vol. 7, Indianapolis, 1922), 1:363.

[29] Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 1:184-85 and map, 1:272; Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (Washington, D. C., 1904), 2:64 ff.

[30] Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 58-59. See Tecumtha's speech to Harrison, August 20, 1810, in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:463 ff. It may be noted that the Wyandot, known among the French as Huron, had invited both the Shawnee and the Delawares to settle north of the Ohio before the middle of the eighteenth century. Their territorial claims, however, were vague. See article on Huron in Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:584-91.

Among the Shawnee none became more powerful in the Delaware Indian Council meetings after 1805 than Lalawéthika, brother of the great war chief Tecumtha, who took the name Tenskwatawa (He who Keeps the Door Open) and who has come down in history as the Prophet.[32] At this juncture his ominous presence among the Delawares was one of the factors, if not the chief factor, involved in the utter failure of the Moravian mission, in spite of the fact that other attempts at evangelization among members of this tribe had under different circumstances attracted and won many of them. Indeed, the hatred of the Shawnee brothers toward the whites coming from the East was implacable, and apparently was encouraged by the commander of the British garrison at Fort Malden.

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[31] It is important for a clear understanding of the White River diaries to note the close relationship that existed between Shawnee and Delaware. The latter was called "grandfather" as a term of respect by the former as well as by other Algonquians during the colonial period. About 1694, according to Mooney (article in Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:533-34), a large party of Shawnee came from the South, apparently from their early abode on the Savannah, and at the invitation of the Delawares settled near the mouth of the Lehigh, that flows into the Delaware. After some years this party removed to the Susquehanna, establishing themselves in the Wyoming Valley. They were joined in that region by the Delawares, including the Munsee, about the year 1742. Meanwhile, apparently, a majority of the Shawnee settled on the Susquehanna, feeling the pressure of the Iroquoian Confederation which claimed the lands upon which they were seated, left the valley to join another band of Shawnee which had migrated from the upper Cumberland and, with the encouragement of the French governor at Quebec, were settled on the north bank of the Ohio near the mouth of the Scioto (*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, edited by Edmund B. O'Callaghan, 9 [1855]:1013-14, 1018, 1033, 1035). These Indians, at least as early as 1744, began to entice the discontented and landless Delawares to desert Pennsylvania and to join them (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 8 series: 4[1931]:2937); as a result, shortly after 1751 most of the latter were settled on the Muskingum and on other rivers, in what is now southeastern Ohio. About 1770 they received permission from the Miami and Piankashaw to occupy part of the country between the Ohio and the White River. To this region came many of their traditional friends, the Shawnee, and when in 1789 a part of the tribe moved to the Missouri with the permission of the Spanish government, it was accompanied by a band of Shawnee (Hodge, ed., *op. cit.*, 1:385).

Further, it does not appear that during the period of the Moravian mission, extending from May, 1801, to September, 1806, the slightest effective check was placed by the government upon the debauching of the Indians of the Territory with liquor, although it is true that some months after his arrival in January, 1801, Harrison issued a proclamation forbidding the sale at Vincennes of intoxicants to the natives and another one the same year, forbidding the traders from carrying liquor to the Indian hunting camps.[33] In fact the Indians of the White River were literally drowned in a flood of whisky, most of it brought, it appears, either from Fort Hamilton or from Fort Wayne by the Indians themselves, who thereupon sold it in the villages to their fellow tribesmen.[34]

[32] Heckewelder (*Narrative*, 409) does not distinguish between Tenskwatawa, the Prophet, and Tecumtha, the war chief. For forms of the name, see Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:729-30.

[33] Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 1:185-86. These proclamations of July 20 and August 31, 1801, are printed in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:31-32. A year later a proclamation enjoined "upon all traders and other persons, to forbear in future to sell any ardent spirits or Intoxicating Liquors to any Indian or Indians whatever." *Ibid.*, 1:59-60.

[34] "The Indian Chiefs complain heavily of the mischiefs produced by the enormous quantity of Whiskey which the Traders in-

That this situation was anticipated by the missionaries is attested by a letter written to Governor Harrison from Goshen on February 23, 1801, asking him to give them authority to prevent the sale of liquors within ten miles of any town or settlement of Indians under their direction within the territorial limits of Indiana.[35]

The fortitude of the little band at the mission which was established near the present site of the city of Anderson, faced as were the members with insuperable difficulties, lowering dangers, and final tragedy, cannot but elicit admiration. Only upon permission of the Helpers' Conference, after the latter had decided to abandon the effort to bring the gospel to the White River Delawares at this time, did the disconsolate survivors turn their backs upon this hard and apparently barren experience as servants in the vineyard of their Lord.

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troduce into their Country. I do not believe there are more than six Hundred Warriors upon this River (the Wabash) and yet the quantity of whiskey brought here annually for their use is said to amount to at least six thousand Gallons." Harrison to Secretary of War, July 15, 1801. *Ibid.*, 1:29.

[35] Printed *post*, 63-64.

DIARIES AND LETTERS
MAY 5, 1799, TO NOVEMBER 12, 1806

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE MISSION AT GOSHEN ON THE MUSKINGUM, MAY 5, 1799, TO AUGUST 22, 1800, RECOUNTING EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE FOUNDING OF THE WHITE RIVER MISSION

MAY 5, 1799. Strangers came again, Hakinkpomsga, a chief, the successor of Pipe,[1] to whom the Indian brethren, William Henry[2] and as many of them as were at home, made a speech. They reminded him that the believing Indians had been called here from the Susquehannah by the chiefs; that it was the last will of old Chief Netawatwes that the Indians should accept the Word of God, because he could wish them and leave them nothing better;[3] that war had been the reason why they could not stay, but had to move about for many years as far as over across the lake, and now, since peace was restored, had come here again, where they could see their friends, the believers, and visit them. Upon this they gave him a string of wampum and he promised to make known their words.

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[1] Captain Pipe or Hopocan, of the Munsee or Wolf clan of the Delawares, was the war chief. He favored the British during the Revolutionary War, heading the party opposed to that of White Eyes, friend of the Moravian missions on the Muskingum. He died in 1794, shortly before the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* 1:568; Heckewelder, *Narrative,* 142-43, 171, 206-7, 229 ff.; De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger,* 433, 458, 463, 470, 479, 491, 519 ff., 641; B. B. Thatcher, *Indian Biography...* (2 vols. New York, 1836), 2:122 ff.

[2] William Henry, or Gelelemend, son of John Killbuck and grandson of Netawatwees, one of the chiefs who succeeded to the power of White Eyes. Unsuccessful in his opposition to Captain Pipe, he fled from the Delaware capital Goschachgünk, and in 1781 accepted American protection at Pittsburgh. He was baptized in 1789. Asked to accept the chieftaincy of the Delawares after the Indians' defeat by Wayne, he declined. He died in 1811. Hodge, *op. cit.,* 1:489; De Schweinitz, *op. cit.,* 470, 479, 483, 604, 643, 694; Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger,* 2:378, 380-81; Samuel G. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America...* (7th ed., Boston, 1837), 65-66.

[3] Netawatwees, chief of the Unami or Turtle division of the Delawares, and head chief of the nation, a convert to Christianity in his later years, died in 1776. Heckewelder in his *Narrative,* page 153, tells of Netawatwees' dying wish that "the gospel should be preached by the Brethren to his nation." See sketch in Hodge, *op. cit.,* 2:58; Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren,* pt. 3:63-116 *passim.*

June 28.[4] Ponkschechen, the brother of Mary, who had spent several months in our town and neighborhood, set off on his return home. He lives about ten days' journey from here, on one of the branches of the Wabash. Samuel went with him to assist him in taking care of his horses.

July 22. We heard from a Monsy Indian, who had been at the forks of the Miami,[5] that the main body of the Delaware Indians, who live at present on a branch of the Wabash, called White Clay River,[6] intended in the fall of the year, to send a message to us, to come and preach the gospel in those parts. It is certain that through the preaching of the gospel here on the Muskingum before the late war, the Delawares as a nation have been powerfully laid hold of. The last will of their late chief Netawatwes, whereby he strongly recommended to them to receive the Word of God, is also in remembrance among them. The seed of the Word has been sown, and we have reason to believe has taken root. There are numbers of Delawares in different parts who would willingly embrace the gospel, but find it difficult to detach themselves from their friends and companions. Rather than this should be the case, the politic Chiefs would perhaps wish the Brethren to come and live among them. It is immaterial what may be the motive of proposing to send for us, if Christ only be thereby more extensively preached. (Phil. 1:18), and a greater number of souls saved.

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[4] The Goshen Diary of June 27, 1799, to April 30, 1800, is in English and was written by the Reverend Benjamin Mortimer, who was connected with this mission.

[5] The "forks of the Miami" were at Fort Wayne, where the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's rivers formed the Maumee, or Miami of the Lake.

[6] White River.

August 10. Today the Chief Hockinkpomsga arrived here on his return from the mouth of Little Beaver Creek, where he had been a second time in order to fetch from thence a boy sixteen years of age, a distant relation of his, who was taken prisoner as a child, and has ever since lived among the white people. The boy was at length persuaded to go along with him, though much against his inclination.

Nov. 13. Mary[7] came to Br. and Sr. Zeisberger to tell them that her children were come to fetch her away, and had for that purpose brought her a repetition of the message which had been sent her last year by Pachkantgihiles, through her brother Ponkschechen (alias Siperiktsy, alias Saponkschees). She said they were very urgent in their solicitations, and wished to set off on their return in two days; but that she had no mind to go along with them. "If you have no mind to go with them," said Br. Zeisberger, "you need not. The parents ought not to obey their children, but the children the parents. Nor have you any occasion to be afraid of disregarding the message of the Chief; for if you stay with us, neither he nor any of his people can hurt you."

Nov. 14. The son-in-law and daughter of Mary left us again. Yesterday evening, as the weather had been unfavorable, so that there could be no meeting, Joshua[8] paid them a visit, and gave them a concise account of the life of our Saviour, and of what he had suffered for us, with the substance of the doctrine that was taught here: all of which they declared they had never heard anything of before.

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[7] The references to Mary in the Diary entries of December 5 and 9, following, indicate that she was the widow of White Eyes and the wife of Jacob Pemahoaland or Pemcholind, baptized at Goshen on March 24, 1799, as "the first fruits of the renewed Mission." De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger*, 656.

[8] Joshua was the son of a Mahican Indian convert also called Joshua. Heckewelder (*Narrative*, 414-15) says: "He had a genius for learning, both languages, and the mechanical arts; was a good cooper and carpenter; could stock a gun nicely and no one excelled him in building a handsome canoe." He acted as chapel musician at the mission on the Wyalusing and could speak and write both English and German. He is frequently mentioned in Zeisberger's *Diary*.

Dec. 4. Pachkansiechse, the son-in-law of Mary, told Charles,[9] that many of the Indians who live on Woapikamikunk or White Clay River, (the name of the branch of the Wabash which has been referred to in our former diaries) often spoke of paying us a visit. Some of them had formerly lived with us on the Muskingum, and were desirous of seeing us again. He made particular mention of Isaac, who formerly lived in Gnadenhütten, Lichtenau, and Schönbrunn. He refuses to partake of the offerings of the Indians, or even to be present at them, openly calling them sacrifices to the devil. He keeps Sunday like us, and sings and prays and preaches of the same God that we speak of, who became a man. The young people sometimes go to hear him. As he is aged and infirm, he can never make the journey hither, but exhorts others to do it, that they may hear better explained what he tells them.—Charles afterwards repeated to us what Pachkansiechse had related to him, adding: "I told him what I could of our Saviour. I am a young man, said I, like you, and could live as you do, if I pleased. But God has changed my heart, so that I have no longer any inclination for it. I have altered my heathenish course of life and like to live as we do here." We desired Charles to tell Mary's son-in-law, that when he returned to Woapikamikunk, he should salute the Indians there from us all, and inform them that David (namely Br. Zeisberger) was still alive, and residing here.

The above-mentioned Isaac, before his conversion, was a most inveterate enemy to the preaching of the gospel among his countrymen. He once came to Br. Zeisberger, saluted him with pretended friendship, and then, making use of the customary expression of the Indians before they murder a person, or otherwise suppose that he is going to die, namely, that "he would soon see his grandfathers" (forefathers); actually attempted to kill him, with a tomahawk which had been secreted under his blanket. But while his arm was extended to deliver a fatal blow, it was quickly seized, and held fast, by the late Br. Boaz, who had all the time watched and suspected his behavior. Br. Zeisberger then spoke to him with his usual presence of mind and serious friendliness; on which his heart was changed, and he became ashamed of the baseness and enormity of his conduct. He was some time after baptized, and remained a worthy member of the congregation till the general dispersion that took place in the year 1782, when he settled with many other of our brethren and sisters on the Woapikamikunk. Those of them who are still alive are mostly advanced in years, or were children when they were obliged to leave us, and have thus inadvertently fallen again into heathenism. A good seed we trust is still left there, which will once, by the conservatory and regenerating power of the Spirit of God, exhibit an extensive field white to the harvest. Br. Zeisberger is of the opinion, that our brethren and sisters there, now they know that we are here, and in peace and safety, will not much longer be able to remain thus detached from us.

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[9] Charles, sometimes called Charles Henry Killbuck, son of William Henry or Gelelemend. He was baptized at New Salem, on the Pettquotting or Huron River, May 21, 1789. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 2:37, 51.

Dec. 5. Today, Mary's son-in-law and daughter with their children, Joseph Whiteeye and his wife, and another family that had spent a few weeks here, set off for Woapikamikunk, before which they took a friendly leave of us. White-eye declared to one of our brethren that the object of his undertaking the journey was, to tell the chiefs, and all his mother's relations, that they should send no more messages for her to come to them, as she chose rather to stay here. He said that he would return hither next summer. On shaking hands with us, he called us his brethren, which is the warmest expression of friendship which the Delaware language admits of. . . .

The fortitude of mind, and fixed attachment to our Saviour and the congregation, which Mary had hitherto displayed, on this occasion nearly forsook her. That both her children, and a grandchild who had long lived with her, should all leave her in one day was a great affliction to her. She expressed a wish to accompany them, provided Br. Zeisberger gave his consent. He answered that he could not do that by any means, as it would only bring her into misery. "If she had a mind to live for our Saviour, she must entirely break off her connection with her relations." On this she returned home again crying.

Dec. 7. Yesterday Mary paid a visit to her children, who had encamped not far from here, with the intention, she said, of trying to persuade them to remain in Sandusky till next spring, and then return here. Today she came again, and sent word to us, that she was desirous to go on a *visit* to her relations on Woapikamikunk, merely to see what they wanted with her; she would then come back again. Br. Zeisberger let her know in answer, that he would neither give her leave, nor yet forbid her to go. She might do as she thought proper. When she should hereafter repent of having made the journey, she should therefore blame herself only for her folly. Mary declared soon after to one of our sisters, that she was determined at all events to return here again next summer. She would tell her uncle the Chief, and all her relations, that she wanted to be saved, and had therefore taken up her abode with us; that to go to hell was no trifling matter, like burning a blanket; it was burning both body and soul in everlasting fire. On Br. Zeisberger being informed of this, he took occasion to assure her, that she was unacquainted with her own weakness. She knew and had experienced but little of the gospel and would not be able to stand in the day of trial.

Dec. 9. Mary returned from a last visit to her children, having at length concluded not to accompany them. Her daughter had been on that account angry with her. Her call of God seems to be to forsake everything, and in particular her children, for the sake of the gospel. (Matt. 10:37-38.) We are thus particular in the relation of her history, because she is the first, and as yet the only heathen woman, who has come to live with, and been baptized by us, since our return from Canada.

April 14, 1800. Tulpe Najundam (signifying he that carries a turtle),[10] arrived here as deputy or messenger from the Chief and Grand Council of the Delawares on the Woapikamikunk, with the following message, in answer to the one sent from here by Hakinkpomsga in the month of May last.

"My Friend!*

We have received your message, and our Chief and great captain, our warriors and young men, our women and children, all rejoiced thereat. The reason why we did no sooner send you an answer was, because my people were not at home. As soon as they returned, I made it known to them, and they were all glad to hear it.

"My Friend!

We have a large district of country that belongs to us; therefore I take you Gelelemind,** and your friends softly by the hand, and lift you up, and place you here near to me on the Woapikamikunk."

The messenger upon the delivery of the speech, presented us, according to custom, with a long and beautiful string of wampum.

As [yet] no intimation had been given in the message to which this was an answer, of a wish to move from here; but the Chief and Council had merely been informed, that we were come to settle again in the place to which they had called us from the Susquehannah; and reminded that it was the dying will of the late Chief Netawatwes, as the best advice that he could bequeath to them, that the Delawares should receive the Word of God; that the war was the cause why we could not remain here, but had been obliged to go over the lake; but that now on the restoration of peace, we were returned hither, where they could again visit their friends, the believing Indians. We were somewhat apprehensive that our communication had perhaps been misunderstood, or purposely varied. Tulpe Najundam, the messenger, on being made acquainted with our doubts on this head, effectually removed them, by rehearsing the speech of our brethren as he had heard it delivered in Council, and producing the very string of wampum which they had sent with it.

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[10] "Tulpenejundam" and his wife had asked to live in the mission town New Salem, in 1790. When the mission there was abandoned, he remained behind. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger,* 2:118, 185, 186. See also *post,* 35.

* The Delaware word signifies relation as well as friend.

** The speeches of the Indians are often addressed to one person in particular, when all the inhabitants of the town in which he lives are meant to be included. Our brother, William Henry was very properly named on this occasion, as he was formerly a Delaware chief. He resigned his office merely in order to live with the believing congregation, and has since refused to resume it again, agreeable to the request of the tribe to which he belongs.

He also informed our brethren that an Indian who was present from Suckachqualles town, about sixty miles from here, had declared in Council, that he believed our Indians would not be willing to move to them, as they were well pleased with their present situation, and lived on their own land. The Council answered that the speech was a good (a friendly) one, and would, they believed, be well received. The member from Suckachqualles town further observed, that they would not consent to come, if their teachers were not invited to go along with them. He was told that they all knew that the believing Indians had never consented to move anywhere without their teachers, who always lived among the Indians, and were one flesh and blood with them. It was therefore quite unnecessary to make particular mention of them in the speech, as they would certainly accompany them.

The messenger said further, that the Council had resolved to give us a large tract of land on our arrival. It lay on another branch of the Wabash, not far from the Woapikamikunk, where the believing Indians might dwell by themselves as they do here.

Whether the design of the Council in making this offer be perfectly upright, and well inclined to the progress of the gospel, or not so, cannot as yet be positively ascertained. Be that as it may, it is a very pleasing occurrence, as a door is thereby opened, and an invitation freely given, by the rulers of a heathen people, for believers and their teachers to come and dwell among them, and of course to make known to them the Word of God. May He grant grace to improve it to the best advantage for the extension of His kingdom! If evil of any kind is intended, He can easily overrule it for good. If good is proposed, He will assuredly attend it with His blessing. That nothing unfavorable at least to the cause of the gospel is designed by the proposition of the Council, there are a variety of reasons for believing. In the first place, they cannot but be aware, that we treat with them upon equal terms, having land of our own as well as they. If therefore the place of settlement they intend to allot to us, the situation of things among them, or the treatment we may receive in time to come, should be in any way disgusting to us, we can easily return again to the place from whence we came. We should at the same time probably deprive them of many of their people, as it is known in every populous district where the gospel has been preached, and a settlement formed among the Indians, some at least have joined and remained with the congregation. That this would be the case on the Woapikamikunk must appear highly probable to the Council itself, from the consideration that numbers there have openly expressed a desire to hear the gospel.

There are many persons there who formerly belonged to the congregation, and were led to leave it merely through the vicissitudes of the war. These have remained there under the persuasion, grounded upon past declarations of our brethren, that the gospel would once be preached in those parts also, in the continued progress that it would make to the westward. Some of them have of late expressed a desire to come here in order to hear it again. A compliance with their wishes may probably in part have led to the offer contained in the message, as it is the first maxim in Indian politics, to do all in their power to keep their people together. The Council doubtless wish rather that we should come and remain among them than that any of their people should go to and remain with us. The head chief on the Woapikamikunk, Tedpachsit, is our known friend. He is the same who in the year 1797 expressed a wish that Brethren might come and settle with their teachers in the town where he then lived on Tawa (Miami of the lake) River.[11]

Three Indian Brethren were in consequence sent to confer with him on the subject, and it was only in consequence of some informality in the proceedings, and the then unsettled state of the Delaware nation, that the business was suspended. This chief is lately gone to live on the Woapikamikunk, as there the greater part of his people have their towns. Packandgihhiles, the present great captain of the Delawares, and a warrior of great renown, is now the leading person in the Council of the nation. He has rendered himself if possible more famous by his upright and disinterested conduct on all occasions, than by his valor. He has the character of being mild and affable in his manners; friendly and humane, and sincerely desirous to promote the welfare of his people. The Indians when speaking of him, commonly say that he is just such a man among them as General Washington was among the white people. In the spring of the year 1781 he paid a visit with his warriors in Gnadenhütten and Salem, and his conduct in those trying times, and afterwards, was uniformly to the satisfaction of our brethren.[12] He has for several years past occupied the same station that was formerly held, with so much worth and dignity, by the late Captain White-eye, under the old Chief Netawatwes. In politics he is closely united with Tedpachsit. It is their joint object to endeavor to cement their nation more closely together than it has been for several years past, and to make it respectable. The dying will of the renowned Netawatwes is still remembered and venerated by his nation. And the pathetic speeches and tears of Captain White-eye, when with the Bible in his hand, he recommended to his people in Council, that they should bow down before the God that made them, entreating Him to have mercy on them, and reveal unto them His word and will; and his public prayers in behalf of their children and children's children, that they might be made acquainted with those saving truths in which they were unable to instruct them, cannot be forgotten, but must have left a deep impression upon those who heard him, the blessing of which, according to the usage of God in the dispensation of His goodness heretofore, may perhaps have been reserved to be poured down in a more abundant measure upon posterity.

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[11] When word came to Fairfield in October, 1797, that Tetepachsit wished the Brethren to come to preach the gospel, William Henry was sent with two others to get further information about the invitation. Their report, made on November 11, was not encouraging. Although Tetepachsit desired the missionaries to come with the Indians, Buckongahelas, the war captain, did not, and had known nothing of Tetepachsit's invitation. He made it clear that while he would have welcomed a consolidation of the Delawares, he would "have nothing to do with the preaching of the gospel." Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger,* 2:496, 497, 500-2.

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[12] Heckewelder gives an interesting account of this visit in his *Narrative*, 215-26. De Schweinitz says: "As he was about leaving the town, Pachgantschillas, with almost the vision of a prophet, warned the converts against raids on the part of the Americans. 'If you pass safely through this war,' he said, 'and I see you all alive at the close of it, I will regret not to have joined your Mission.'" *David Zeisberger*, 484.

His name is spelled in a great variety of ways. Cyrus Thomas in Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:168, gives it as Buckongahelas, meaning "Breaker in Pieces." The name is also translated as "Person Running with Body and Soul." Frank G. Speck, *Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony* (*Publications* of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, vol. 2, Harrisburg, 1931), 19.

Upon the whole however it was not to be expected that an invitation sent to us by the Great Council of the Delawares, should be expressly and professedly with the view to their nation's being instructed in and embracing the gospel. Such conduct would have been so very unusual, and under a view of all the circumstances with which we are acquainted so unaccountable, that it justly would have excited our suspicions. When in the history of mankind has it occurred that an invitation of this kind has been spontaneously given by any people, who were still so deeply involved in the darkness of heathenism?

We were now employed in deliberations upon a fit answer to be returned to the Chief and Council. Our Indian brethren, though altogether pleased with their situation here, which most of them would at present be unwilling to forsake, were unanimously of the opinion that it would be advisable to accept the proposal of the Council, not only with the view to keep up friendship with their nation, but principally in the hope that by this means the gospel might obtain a more extensive diffusion among them. "How can the friends on the Woapikamikunk believe, or learn to understand the gospel," said a helper brother, "unless it is preached to them? For this reason no messages sent to them, or anything else will suffice, but that teachers go to live among them, and preach to them from day to day." In these sentiments we could not but cordially acquiesce. But in order to gain time, it was proposed to defer giving a decisive answer till next spring, that we might have an opportunity of consulting further on the subject. The answer agreed on was as follows:

"When I saw my friend arrive in the place where I live and beheld his face, I was rejoiced, and felt hope from him in my heart. Then I thought also on what our late Chief Netawatwes had said to us formerly, when we lived on the Susquehannah. And as I heard, my friend, that you take me softly by the hand, lift me up, and place me near to you on the Woapikamikunk, I was glad.

"My Friend! I let you know that I live here on my own land. But still I accept your words. I cannot however, my friend, immediately rise up. I must first make known your words to my brother over the lake, who lives far from me. When I receive his answer, I will let you know in what manner I have made myself ready. How long it will be before I can send you words again, I cannot say. Perhaps it will be next spring. My Friend! From this day forward, I will always think of you with pleasure, as you do of me."

This answer was returned by the brethren on the afternoon of the 15th in token of which a string of wampum was delivered to the messenger. The watchword for the day[13] when the message arrived was: "Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul." I Sam. 18:3. Bless our covenanting together, Lamb of God, who for us died! The answer was returned so early, because the messenger, who himself came to the congregation in Pettquotting,[14] and only left us again in consequence of our going to Canada, was directed to come back with all convenient speed, that preparation might be made to meet and assist us on the journey, and to plant corn for us. Being much fatigued and somewhat unwell, he remained here for some days longer.

It was intended that one of our former baptized brethren named Gottlob should accompany Tulpe Najundam hither, to be our conductor on the way to Woapikamikunk. As he was taken sick and could not go, Pakandgihiles has done us the honor to send his own nephew for that purpose instead of him. The young man proposes remaining with us till we are ready to make the journey.

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[13] "There has been prepared by the Moravian church, since 1731, a selection of short passages from the Old and New Testaments for each day in the year, and each passage is followed by a stanza of a hymn." Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 1:xxx. This textbook is still issued annually by the church.

[14] The Moravian mission of New Salem established in 1787 near the south shore of Lake Erie. It was abandoned in 1791. Another mission was established near the former site in 1804.

Through the relations of our Woapikamikunk visitor we learned that the present is a time of profound peace among all the Indian nations. The Delawares are desirous to preserve it, and have of late with that view, and for the general welfare, made many excellent regulations among them to prevent theft, regulate the chase, etc. It has been determined in Council that the women shall no longer attend the men in their hunting parties, that they may have more time to attend to their domestic concerns, and that the men may be induced the sooner to return home again. This is also one of our regulations. Upon the whole, it appears to be their wish to introduce wholesome rules among them. We have been told that they expect that our presence would afford them much countenance in this respect, and that this is one of the reasons that has induced them to send for us.

The Woapikamikunk country is described by our brethren who have been there, as milder and exceeding in fertility that on the Muskingum. The adjacent hills are also smaller and the lowlands more extensive. It abounds in game of all kinds, and in the river, which is very clear and beautiful, there is plenty of excellent fish, particularly eels. There is no sandstone in those parts, hence the white people at Post Vincennes and other places are obliged to procure their millstones from Kentucky.[15] European goods are brought there chiefly from Detroit.

April 19. Tulpe Najundam attended the evening meeting. Most Indians who have no intention of staying with us for a considerable time, come but seldom to hear the Word of God, for fear, as they say, of being only made uneasy by it.

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[15] This bit of information probably came from Heckewelder, who had accompanied General Rufus Putnam to Post Vincennes in

April 21. Tulpe Najundam set off on his return to the Woapikamikunk. At parting he was very desirous to be informed at what time we, or a part of us, would be ready to follow him. He received however no decisive answer. The nephew of Packandgihilles remained with us, being desirous as he said to improve himself in what was to be learned here.

May 19.[16] Many heathen now say, that if we would begin a place on the Woapikamikunk, they would also go there, and live with us.

May 25. A heathen from the Woapikamikunk became drunk, whom we told that no one of us would come to them there, if it was customary among them to get drunk. We allowed no one to bring rum or whisky into our village. He was ashamed of his conduct, and it will suit us perfectly, if he will report on the Woapikamikunk how strictly we deal with it.

Aug. 10. The Chiefs and Council of the Delawares on the Woapikamikunk have successfully endeavored to gather the nation at the river, for which reason the message which we received from them last April, was sent.

Aug. 22. Br. Heckewelder visited us for the last time before his return to Bethlehem, and we discussed together principally the furtherance of the plans of the two Brethren who are to begin the mission on the Woapikamikunk.

1792, to treat with the western Indians. "Narrative of John Heckewelder's Journey to the Wabash in 1792," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 11:466-76; 12:34-54, 165-84 (Philadelphia, 1887, 1888).

[16] The Goshen Diary, May 1, 1800, to May 31, 1801, is in German. The copy in the archives at Bethlehem is in the hand of Johannes Ludwig Strohle.

EXTRACT FROM THE MEMORABILIA OF THE BETHLEHEM CONGREGATION, A. D. 1800[1]

FURTHERMORE, one of the runners dispatched by the Indians of the Wabash had brought a formal request to Goshen asking that our Indians and their teachers should come to Woapikamikunk. Having given due consideration to this request, the Helpers' Conference on the 15th of August received from the dear Lord the direction that a mission should be opened there. A call was issued to Br. Abraham Luckenbach of Nazareth and Br. John Peter Kluge, who had arrived here on the 29th.[2] This call they accepted with humility and joy and after the latter had been married to Sr. A. Mar. Ranke in Lititz,[3] they set out on their journey; at first to Goshen where they arrived on November 18. Here they spent the winter, and in the spring they set out with our Indian brethren of that place for the Wabash, hoping that a few families would also move there.

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[1] This is an account of the activities of the Bethlehem Congregation during that year. The German original is in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[2] As was made clear in the Introduction, Kluge and Luckenbach were ordained before leaving Bethlehem. Under date of August 4, 1801, the "Minutes of the Helpers' Conference, 1800-1802," page 204, states: "The ordination certificates of Brothers Kluge and Luckenbach are still to be filled out."

[3] Lititz, Pennsylvania, was at this period, and still is, an important Moravian center.

DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF BR. AND SR. KLUGE AND BR. LUCKENBACH FROM BETHLEHEM TO GOSHEN ON THE MUSKINGUM. OCTOBER 15 TO NOVEMBER 18, 1800

On the 15th of October at noon we departed from our beloved Bethlehem in the company of Br. and Sr. Cunow,[1] Br. and Sr. Schaaf,[2] Brethren Van Vleck[3] and Stadiger[4] and also the brother and sister of Br. Luckenbach. When we arrived at Ellistown we had the pleasure of a good evening meal together. Thereupon, after the arrival of our baggage wagon, we took leave of each other with much feeling and many expressions of love but with some sadness on our part. This was soon dispelled by a hymn which Sr. Kliestin gave us for the occasion. It began with the words: "Ihr Friedensboten ziehet an die Wabash hin; predigt den Heiland mit frohem Sinn."[5] This we then sang together as we sat on the wagon and having commended ourselves to the grace of the Saviour we set out on our journey with cheerful hearts. However, we did not cover more than three miles on this day and spent the first night beyond Ellistown.

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[1] John Gebhard Cunow was at this time administrator of the property belonging to the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania; he was also a member of the Helpers' Conference in the North until he went to Germany in 1822 to take charge of certain of the Church's interests, especially its so-called sustentation fund. Joseph Mortimer Levering, *History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. 1741-1892 . . .* (Bethlehem, 1903), 543; Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 357.

[2] Christian Frederick Schaaf was warden of the church at Bethlehem and had special supervision over the married people. Levering, *op. cit.*, 541-42, 596, 620, 622.

[3] Jacob Van Vleck was head pastor at Bethlehem at this time. He was principal of the seminary for young ladies in Bethlehem, 1790-1800, and in 1815 became bishop of the Church. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 291, 318; Levering, *op. cit.*, 541.

[4] John Frederick Stadiger was chaplain of the Brethren's House at Bethlehem and spiritual overseer of the single men. *Ibid.*, 542.

[5] "You messengers of peace, go out to the Wabash and preach the Saviour with gladsome hearts."

16th. After breakfast we traveled on and in the evening arrived with drenched clothing at an inn owned by a Mr. Klein. Here we found a company of travelers who were partly drunk and playing cards. At the very table where they were playing our supper was also served. Br. Kluge asked the innkeeper to send the people away, otherwise we would refuse to eat. This he then did. After we had eaten we soon retired in order to get away from this ribald crowd and get some sleep, but this was in vain, for one of the drunken men played a violin and sang almost the entire night so that we could not sleep. In addition to this, the room in which we slept had no lock on the door and we feared that some one of this drunken company might enter our room. This fear was not without foundation, for about midnight a big fellow really did come in. Br. Kluge noticed him and jumped out of bed and called to him but he gave no answer and ran away. In the morning Br. Kluge told the innkeeper about it and expressed his dissatisfaction. After breakfast we were glad to leave this unpleasant lodging place and drove off although it was raining at the time. In the evening we arrived at an inn three miles east of Adenstown[6] conducted by a Mr. Becker. But before we reached this inn it had become quite dark and in order to prevent the wagon from falling over along the rough road we brethren went ahead in order to point out to the driver any danger that might be encountered. In this way we finally arrived, completely drenched, at the above-mentioned inn at about 8 o'clock in the evening. After partaking of a little food, we retired, and from sheer exhaustion went to sleep on the straw mattresses.

18th. In the evening we continued our journey in the rain and arrived happy and thankful at 7 o'clock in Lititz and were received with much love by the Brethren there.

19th. There was again a heavy rain and consequently we remained here until the 21st, in the meantime enjoying much kindness at the hands of the Brethren here. At the service on the evening of the 20th God's blessing for our further journey was invoked by Br. Herbst.[7]

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[6] Adamstown.

20th. At 7 o'clock in the morning we departed, accompanied by the two head sisters, Sr. Kriegerin and a number of single sisters.[8] The weather was fine and in this pleasant company we left Lititz. My dear wife's own immediate family also accompanied us on horseback for two miles beyond Mannheim. Here the real departure took place. This was accompanied by many tears. Thereupon Sr. Kluge and I mounted our horses. (N. B. She had received one from her father and I used one which I had obtained from my brother-in-law who accompanied us for a short distance.) We again said farewell to our friends from Lititz, whereupon they returned to the town and we continued on our way. Finally my wife's friends also took their leave of us and with tears in their eyes, started back. Two others were still with us, the Brethren George and Philip. The former was traveling with us to the Muskingum and the latter went as far as Elizabethtown, where we arrived this evening and found good quarters in an Irish inn.

22d. After breakfast we went on, the weather being fine. At noon we arrived at Middletown where our horses were fed at an inn belonging to a Mr. Plattenberger, after which we continued our journey for 1½ hours. On the other side of the Schwadara[9]—we had been ferried across this river in the vicinity of Middletown—we arrived at Herrestown[10] where we remained for the night. Here we did not have good quarters for the night since we had so many drivers as our fellow guests, and wherever these men are there is sure to be a lot of noise.

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[7] John Herbst was head pastor at Lititz. Levering, *History of Bethlehem,* 580.

[8] Establishments known as Brethren's, Sisters', and Widows' Houses characterized Moravian settlements. The Sisters' House was not in any sense a convent.

[9] Swatara.

[10] Harrisburg.

23d. Early in the morning we were ferried across the Susquehanna. Although it was very windy, the good Lord in whom we trust under all circumstances, helped us across this wide and mighty river for which we also thanked Him and then continued happily on our way. In the evening when it was already pitch dark we arrived at Carolein,[11] but found in the *Black Bear* a rather poor inn, and in addition had to pay very high prices.

24th. In the morning at 8 o'clock we departed, and because it was quite cold, we went on foot to keep warm. At noon we ate at an inn close to the road, 11 miles east of Shippensburg. Here we ate boiled potatoes to satisfy our hunger. This must have given the hostess the impression that we were very poor, for she said to us, "You must also come from the country where one eats potatoes instead of bread." But I answered that we came from a country where we have just as much bread as the people in this region, but we are nevertheless fond of potatoes. With this she was contented and made a good dish of potatoes for us, and thus we satisfied our hunger completely. In the evening when it was already quite dark, we finally arrived at Shippensburg, where we remained overnight at a very good inn, finding good treatment there. The city is almost a mile long but consists of only one street of log houses, which are well built.

25th. We departed at 10 o'clock in the morning because two of our horses had to be shod. In the afternoon we arrived at the first high mountain which is called the "Blue Mountain." It is very steep and full of large boulders. Next to it is a very deep and stony valley full of high trees. Here the way leads close by the edge of the mountain almost encircling it, so that if the wagon should overturn almost everything would roll down the mountain in a thousand pieces. Consequently great care is necessary. All of this seems very dangerous, but for the person on foot it is very beautiful. Especially beautiful are the large moss-covered rocks, and one stands awestruck before them. Great care must be taken that everything in the wagon does not break to pieces. On foot it is necessary to walk very carefully in order not to break a leg.

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[11] Carlisle.

In the evening we came to an Irish inn at the foot of the mountain, where we remained overnight. Bollinger (the driver) said to us that these people were not kindly disposed toward the Brethren, which fact we discovered, for the host went around all evening with a newspaper in his hands, solely for the sake of avoiding us. Finally one of his party came in and he disappeared from the room. Nevertheless we had a reasonably good bed and because we were very sleepy we soon retired and slept very well.

26th. In the morning, without having had breakfast, we continued across the second mountain, which involves a climb of three miles and is more difficult than the first. From the top of the mountain one sees a fertile valley, filled with plantations and pleasant for the eye to behold. In the afternoon we arrived at the Canjeschinner[?] Mountain which was likewise steep and high, so that one sometimes thought that everything in the wagon would break to pieces. In the evening we arrived very much tired out at a small, old tavern at the foot of the mountain, and here we remained for the night. We were received in a kind and friendly manner by the innkeeper and were served a good meal. Because they did not have sufficient beds they gave Br. and Sr. Kluge their own, although it looked rather dirty.

Br. Luckenbach had to share a bed with an Irishman who was quite a drinker, and who emptied one glass of whisky after the other. This was not very pleasant, but on the other hand Br. and Sr. Kluge had to suffer a great deal from the fleas. However, we were glad not to have been bothered with lice. In the living room of the inn so many people were lying about that it was almost impossible to move around.

27th. Early in the morning we set out, and were glad that we did not have so many steep mountains to climb. In the evening we reached a good inn.

28th. We passed the so-called Seidehül[12] which, when all of its ascents and descents were counted, made a journey of more than 8 miles. It is not as steep as the other mountains but just as full of stones. In the evening we came to an inn 8 miles this side of Bedford.

29th. The weather was fair and we journeyed happily along and at noon arrived in Bedford. It is a small unpretentious town. We could not even buy a piece of meat for ourselves. After the horses had been fed we went on and after riding 5 miles we came to a very poor inn where we had to remain overnight. Because we were very hungry we ordered supper as usual. But it was so prepared that it was not pleasant to look at. The same was also true of the beds. Br. and Sr. Kluge had one which was infested with bugs and had such an evil odor that we covered the pillows with our blankets in order not to inhale the smell. The bedroom had but one small window, and that was broken and had been stuffed with an old hat. Br. Luckenbach slept in the same bed with the innkeeper and had to suffer the same things. In the evening when it was already dark, a ragged butcher came along with an old bag containing a piece of sickly looking mutton which was then prepared the next morning. During the night we slept very little and were glad when the time came to arise.

30th. Early in the morning we left the house and proceeded, the weather being very fine. In fact we have had very beautiful weather during the last days, for which we have been very thankful.

In the evening we reached some quarters among Germans. The hostess said that she had friends in Bethlehem. Everything was very neat and clean, and we had good meals and beds which compensated for the poor quarters of the night before.

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[12] Sideling Hill.

31st. In the morning at 7 we went on and after going eight miles we came to the Allegheny Mountains and a hotel where we ate and then drove up the mountain. By evening we had reached the other side of the mountain and found an inn 8 miles this side of Somerset, where we remained overnight and were well treated.

November 1st. We departed at 8 A. M. and arrived at 1 P. M. in Somerset, where we spent two hours. The town is small and unimportant and, as is the case with the others, consists of only one street. While we were here an auction was held in the same house in which we stayed and the auctioneer called the people together by ringing a cowbell. During the auction the whisky bottle was passed around. Later on two boys engaged in a horse race for a prize of $30. The race came to an end with a great deal of noise.

After our horses had been fed we went on for 6 more miles. Thereupon we remained overnight at an inn conducted by a Mr. Kiljankeri[?] and found a good lodging there.

2d. We ate at noon at a little inn along the road. A year ago seven people were killed at this very place by a falling tree. They were settlers, and had been camping under the tree when it fell. A man who lives here showed Br. Kluge the graves and told him that almost all of the people were drunk and had been quarreling with each other and had thus been killed while in this condition. This man, when he heard that we were on our way to the Muskingum, said, "I should also like to move to the Muskingum, for I have heard that they give the children a free school, and I have many children. I am a poor man, but I wish that my children also could learn something."

In the evening after a trip of 12 miles we came to an inn along Saddle Hill,[13] belonging to an innkeeper by the name of Schons. Here we remained overnight. The lodgings were good, but the beds were so hard that we hardly became warm.

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[13] This is apparently Laurel Hill.

3d. This morning there was a heavy frost as we drove away, and after traveling for 6 miles we had dinner as usual. In the afternoon we traveled 8 miles further and remained overnight with an innkeeper by the name of Maxlin. Here the quarters were fairly good.

4th. On this day we crossed Chestnut Hill and remained for the night with a farmer. We had covered only 10 miles on this day. Here we not only had poor food but also had to sleep in a cold foul-smelling room above the rope house, where flax was spun. That very evening the host began to make out the bill, without knowing how much food we would consume. In the room where we slept, as everywhere else, everything was very dirty. In our room there was a barrel of honey in which a child was wading about, and an old man, the grandfather of the child, would every now and then scrape the honey off the child's legs. Some of this honey was put on the table for the evening meal. One can easily imagine that those of us who had observed what went on in the honey barrel did not have a very great appetite for the honey.

5th. After we had traveled 11 miles, we came to a "house of thieves" close to the Monongahela and stayed there overnight. Hardly had we entered when Br. Kluge's new overcoat as well as Sr. Kluge's new shoes were stolen from the wagon. Later the innkeeper warned us to be on our guard, for things had often been stolen here, but naturally his warning came too late. In addition to this, a drunken driver kept up a vile conversation throughout the evening and the greater part of the night. He cursed and swore horribly, all of which we were obliged to hear, because we slept close to the room in which this was going on. Furthermore, there was no door which we could lock. The windows were broken and stopped up with a pair of old trousers. The innkeeper was a good-for-nothing and took part in every kind of wickedness, singing ribald songs with the drunken driver until we could scarcely stand it any longer. It almost seemed to us that we were in the midst of a horde of evil spirits and we were heartily thankful when day began to dawn although we had hardly slept a wink. We now thanked God that we could go on.

In the afternoon at 3 o'clock we finally arrived at Pittsburg. We stayed at the *Stag*[14] close to the market and here we found good lodgings. Soon after our arrival we visited Mr. Addison and gave him the letter from Br. Van Vleck. He and his dear wife received us very kindly and invited us for breakfast the next morning. We accepted the invitation and then discussed with him several matters pertaining to our journey and among other things, mentioned the fact that we had been robbed not far from here. He expressed his indignation at this and assured us that he would spare no pains to recover the stolen goods. Hereupon we took leave of him and went to our lodgings.

7th. In the afternoon 700 members of the militia marched with their bands along the bank of the river where already thirteen large boats lay ready to receive them and carry them to the various forts along the Ohio. They were an interesting sight in their raccoon caps as they embarked in preparation for the trip down the river during the night. The city of Pittsburg is not large, but has a beautiful location, for the Monongahela flows close by and later empties into the Ohio, thus making it a pleasant and lively town.

8th. At 9 in the morning we were ferried across the river. Our way led close by a glass factory, and the workers, all of whom were Germans, showed and explained everything to us. Nothing was being done at the factory at this time so there was not much to be seen. From this point on we again crossed mountains and after we had gone over a very high mountain we found a good road and arrived after twelve miles of travel at the home of an Irish farmer and planned to stay overnight. He received us under the one condition that we would remain quietly at his house on the next day, which was a

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[14] The German is "Hirsch."

Sunday. Since it was already dark and we could not travel any farther, we gave in, although we were sorry not to be able to make use of the beautiful weather. After eating a little, the evening devotions were conducted. The master of the house began with a long lesson from the Bible which was read in an extraordinary tone of voice. Thereupon the daughter began a song similar to a chorus, which likewise struck us as being rather odd. We then noticed that these were Psalms sung in a peculiar chant. Now we thought that all was at an end, but no, everyone now knelt down and the father prayed for a long time with many sighs and tears that could have been heard at a great distance. Finally this too came to an end and we went to bed.

9th. A morning devotion was conducted, similar to the one of the evening before. We partook of a little breakfast that was to suffice for the whole day, for on a Sunday they did not eat before evening. During the day we were supposed to fast and pray. At 11 everyone went to church, and because they had praised their new minister so highly we also went along and thereby pleased our host very much. When we entered the church we were surprised to find the men and women sitting together.[15] On a platform resembling a barrel and surrounded by a wooden railing stood a man with long hair, clad in a blue coat with shining buttons, and every time he moved his arms, one could see his shirt underneath. And this man was the famous preacher! With a great deal of shouting and coughing he entertained his audience for two hours. Then they sang a hymn and we thought that the dry sermonizing had come to an end. But the minister had just been resting for a while and soon began the same kind of thing over again. Br. Kluge could not stand it any longer and went home. At 4 o'clock everyone finally came home with empty stomachs. The sermon alone had lasted four hours in all. Bollinger had injured his foot while on the way to church as a result of which he had to suffer a great deal. Certainly this proved a reminder to him of the long sermon.

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[15] This was not the practice of the Moravians and some other religious sects at this period.

In the evening, potatoes, which had been boiled the day before, were warmed up and some salt meat added to make a meal. Thereafter evening devotions were again conducted as on the day before. This time the head of the house asked us to sing some Moravian hymns. We agreed and they listened very attentively to our singing. Then we went to bed, but our hosts sang for quite a while after we had left.

10th. The weather was fine and we departed at an early hour. After we had covered 14 miles we again stopped at the house of a farmer and remained there overnight. When we arrived, Sr. Kluge prepared for our supper some of the meat which we had bought at Pittsburg. After eating our fill we retired to the bedroom, which had openings for windows but no glass in them. The result was that throughout the entire night a cold wind blew into our room, reminding us that we would soon experience cold weather in the forest.

11th. In the morning at 8 we continued our journey. Br. Luckenbach had bought a small horse upon which he rode from this point on. The way was hilly as everywhere else but not quite as stony and fairly good at several points. In the afternoon at 3 we arrived in Georgetown where we stopped at the house of an old ferryman by the name of Thomas Schmit, who provided oats and hay for the horses on the journey through the wilderness as well as provisions for us. Half of our load was taken off at this point and given to Mr. Schmit for safekeeping until it should be gotten from the Muskingum. Into the wagon we then loaded hay and oats until it was filled to the top.

13th. At 11 o'clock we were ready and planned to have the wagon ferried across the Ohio. The wind was so strong that both we and the ferryman feared that there might be an accident. We first made an attempt with the four horses but the waves were so high that we were more fearful than before for the heavy wagon. Nevertheless the work had to be done, for the horses had already been taken across. We united in prayer to our dear Lord and Saviour whom the wind and the sea obey and He heard our prayer in a miraculous way. As soon as the wagon had been placed upon the ferry there was a complete calm so that we could cross over quietly and without any danger. The ferrymen were very much surprised at this and we thanked our dear Lord and Saviour for His gracious care and went happily forward in the name of God.

This answer which our Lord gave us poor ones on this day meant all the more to us because it was the 13th of November.[16] We quietly commended ourselves to the blessing of our dear Lord and Chief Elder and joined our congregations in spirit on this day, remembering that they too thought of us.

After proceeding for 5 miles we came to a farmer with whom we stayed overnight. He had a miserable little hut without any windows, and after we had prepared our evening meal we made our beds on the floor and slept fairly well before a large log fire. The cat, however, caused some disturbance, for having caught the odor of our meat, she climbed up and threw down the poor woman's coffee cups, some pieces of which fell on us.

14th. After reading and meditating on the text for the day in accordance with our usual custom, we had breakfast and then went on in the name of God. Because one of Bollinger's horses was sick, Sr. Kluge's horse was harnessed to the wagon in order that we might go on unhindered along this rather difficult road.

After driving for three miles, we stopped for a while at the house of a farmer by the name of John George and bought a quart of milk for our tea, which we hoped to prepare in the woods. Then we went on for a distance of six miles until evening and for the first time made our camp in the open. We immediately built a log fire, and because we had no tent, Br. Kluge fastened his hammock to two trees, stretched a rope above it and laid two blankets over it. This gave the appearance of a roof, and Sr. Kluge slept very well under it. For Br. Luckenbach a rope was also stretched between two trees. Sticks were laid against the rope and blankets laid across them to form a roof. Br. Kluge gave him his own mattress upon which to sleep and thus he had a good rest during the night. While we brethren were preparing our lodgings for the night, Sr. Kluge prepared the evening meal for us, which consisted of a dish of rice and meat. Sitting around the log fire upon the ground we found this repast most appetizing. After the meal we sang a few verses together and then retired.

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[16] This date commemorates the formal promulgation in the Moravian Church in 1741 of the doctrine of the immediate headship of Jesus Christ in His Church.

15th. Early in the morning we read the text for the day and sang a few verses at our morning devotions. Thereafter we had breakfast and then continued on our way. In this manner we spent three nights in the forest. On the fourth and last night we had an experience of another kind. During the evening a thunderstorm arose with a powerful wind and a heavy rain. Around us the trees crashed everywhere so that the effect was quite terrifying throughout the whole night. We commended ourselves to the gracious protection of the Saviour and passed the night as best we could. In the morning we thanked Him for His preservation from all harm. The wind had died down but in its place there came a heavy snowfall.

17th. We met several Indian brethren from Goshen who brought a letter from Mr. Mortimer in which he told us that these Indians had been sent with two canoes in order to transfer our baggage at Stillwater and take it down the river to Goshen.[17]

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[17] See *post,* 53.

18th. For the above-mentioned reason the Indian brethren had left their camps and after meeting us at Stillwater they loaded our baggage into their canoes and proceeded to Goshen. We three traveled in the following manner by land to Goshen: the Indian Br. Carl gave his horse to Br. Kluge, Br. Luckenbach rode on the one which he had bought and Sr. Kluge rode on her own.

The Indian Br. William Henry rode ahead as a guide through thorns and thickets without using a path and we followed him as best we could in single file. Ten dogs accompanied us and at times tore at the venison and bear meat which was hanging over the back of Br. Henry's horse. Finally on the evening of the 18th we arrived safe and sound at Goshen where we found everyone in good health. We were received with much love and could only say for all the grace and preservation which we had enjoyed on the journey: "The Lord has done all things well and arranged everything aright. To Him alone be praise!"

Herewith we greet all the dear brethren and sisters in the congregations and commend ourselves to their prayers and their remembrance before our Saviour.[18]

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[18] Under date of April 21, 1801, the following statement is made regarding the expenses of the missionaries: "To the Wabash £211; the expenses of Brother and Sister Kluge and Brother Luckenbach to Goshen alone, £119, because the wagon was not able to secure any return freight." Minutes of the Helpers' Conference, 1800-1802, p. 172. It is to be noted that even in 1801 the calculations were in pounds and shillings.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE MISSION AT GOSHEN ON THE MUSKINGUM, NOVEMBER 18, 1800, TO MARCH 24, 1801

NOV. 18th, 1800. We were rejoiced over the arrival, from Bethlehem, of Br. and Sr. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach, whom Br. William Henry accompanied here from Stillwater. Because the Muskingum is at present too low for navigation, and the road here from Gnadenhütten is not finished yet, some of the Indian brethren agreed to meet them with canoes, and to hunt in the neighborhood until they arrived.

Jan. 8, 1801. In the evening meeting, Br. Zeisberger commended to the prayers of the brethren and sisters, the brethren Charles and Jacob, who were to leave next day with a message to the chiefs and Council of the Delawares on the Woapikamikunk, and on the 9th these two began their journey, with the following message:

"My old Friend, he who sits and considers what is best! I rejoice that the day is come, when we see each other. Our Creator has destined this for us. Hear me, my Friend! You spoke to me last Spring. We have considered our circumstances. You said to me: 'I take you softly by the hand, and place you near to me on my own land.' Thereupon I said to my friend: 'I am willing to act according to your words, and added: I will report further in fall or at latest in spring.'

"Now, my friend, you, my Elder! Listen to me with pleasure! I recall the true words of our departed Elder, our deceased Chief, which pitied us, as well as that they once upon a time took the Christian Indians by the hand and led them to the other side of the great wilderness, where they lived, and brought them to the Gegelmukpechink, and that their teachers journeyed with them.[1]

"Now, my Friend, Listen to me, you my Elder! I let you know that I want to come to you with my teachers, so that you too may rejoice in the future."

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[1] This statement is somewhat confused and ungrammatical, but its meaning can be grasped. Gekelemukpechünk was the first capital of the Delawares in Ohio.

Our Indian brethren proposed that the above message be sent before any brethren should go to stay on the Woapikamikunk, as an agreeable and respectful compliment to the chiefs, as well as a means to secure a decided declaration from them, if they desired or did not desire to receive believing Indians with their teachers among them, in that such a declaration might be of use to our brethren in the future in their furtherance of the work of God in that region. Another matter which was considered, was this: to gain more accurate and detailed information of conditions there, as well as to learn the best way for our brethren to travel to their place. It may be mentioned here in passing that the messages which the Indians send to one another, are always in a style different from that used in the intercourse of ordinary life. They call it, the "Language of the Chiefs." After the departure of Charles and Jacob, whom the whole congregation heartily wished much joy in their undertaking, most of our brethren went on the bear hunt.

Feb. 1. Late in the evening came David and Simon from Fairfield, and brought us letters from our brethren there, from which we learned that the Indians from that congregation had no inclination to go to the Woapikamikunk.

Feb. 2. In the afternoon, after an address by Br. Zeisberger, there was held the funeral of Sophia, Joshua's wife, who had gone home to the Saviour early yesterday morning, after an extended sickness. She was the daughter of the renowned Indian moralist and preacher John Papunhank, who was the first Indian who was baptized on the Susquehannah by Br. Zeisberger. In the year 1764 she was with the Indian congregation in the barracks in Philadelphia and was there baptized by the late Br. Schmick, whereupon she married Joshua, for many years a widower, by whom she had ten children. Two of her grown-up daughters were killed in the well-known massacre of our Indians by the militia, in the year 1782, in Gnadenhütten, and one son and two daughters still live here. After the dispersion of the Indian congregation, she was one of the first who moved with the missionaries to New Gnadenhütten from the Sandusky. She was a useful helper in the work of the Lord, and had a special gift to speak with new people from among the heathen, who were concerned about their salvation. During the last year of her stay in Fairfield her walk was not edifying, but here she found her heart again. When she heard that many heathen on the Woapikamikunk were anxious to receive the gospel, and that a message had been sent here, that Brethren might move to them, she rejoiced over it and was the first sister who expressed willingness to go there, which was not to be thought of, however, on account of her increasing weakness. The more clear it became to her that the Saviour would soon take her to Himself, the happier she was and the more she desired it. That the sisters here had no desire to move to the Woapikamikunk, she considered wrong, and made the proposition to Sr. Catharina[2] to go in her place, because she was old and experienced and would know how to deal with the women there. Her age was sixty years.

Feb. 16. To our great joy, our brethren Charles and Jacob returned from the Woapikamikunk. The report which they brought of their safe journey, as well as of their loving reception everywhere, and of their friendly answer to our message, created universal joy among us, and filled our hearts and mouths with praise and thanksgiving to God.

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[2] Sister Catherine or Catherina and her husband John Thomas were among the Indians who moved to White River with the missionaries. Catherine had apparently been living in the mission towns since 1785. In 1787, John Thomas came to New Salem from the Fort Wayne region and the next year he was baptized and married the widow Catherine. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 1:319, 378, 381-82, 402, 455, 456. John Thomas had accompanied William Henry to interview Tetepachsit and Buckongahelas about a mission at Fort Wayne in 1797. *Ibid.*, 2:497, 500-2.

Feb. 18. The answer to our message was formally made known to all grown-up brethren by Jacob and Charles, and the string of wampum which the chiefs had given them in confirmation, was shown. The answer was, essentially, as follows: That the chiefs and all their men, women and children rejoiced to hear their words; that the best way for them to travel was by water down the Muskingum and Ohio, then on the Unami[3] for about a mile, as well as on another river, which flowed from the west into the same,[4] until the portage, and thence by land, which would be very safe and easy; that they had prepared for them as a place of abode Woapiminschijeck, that is, where the chestnut trees grow, which was a large and comfortable place; that they should not be molested in their settlement there; that no strong drink should be brought into or through their place; that no drunken people should trouble them, and no decent people should be hindered from visiting them; that they had nothing at all against it that they would bring along their teachers, and took for granted that no one should be kept from hearing the Word of God, which they preached. The conclusion was a general greeting to the people in our place.

Charles and Jacob left on the 9th of January for the Woapikamikunk. They could not take any wampum from here to accompany the message, for the whole stock which we thought we possessed, through an oversight of General Wilkins[5] in Pittsburg who had presented it to us for use in this connection, was found, upon the appointed examination, to consist of coral.[6] They were therefore instructed to ask the Chief in Sandusky to sell them a string. On their way there the heavens became black, they were enshrouded in a fog, and, since they desired to cut off part of the way, lost themselves. Since they were pretty far from the right way, they discovered from the human footsteps and broken twigs, which they met here and there, that the Indian hunting grounds must be near. Soon they came to three huts, in which one of the chiefs whom they hunted was found. Had they not, by the providence of God, lost their way, but had gone direct to Sandusky, they would have had to go back two days' journey in order to find him; and because his hunting ground was far from any road, the finding of him would have been very difficult and would have consumed much time. The Chief very kindly accompanied them to his house, treated them in the best fashion, gave them provisions for their further journey, and presented them with as much wampum as they needed, in connection with which, he remarked, that he rejoiced to be able to give this small proof of friendship, and to assist them in their good intention. The wampum which he gave them was worth about four dollars.

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[3] The Miami River.

[4] The Whitewater.

[5] Probably John Wilkins, who served as a captain in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. In 1783 he settled in Pittsburgh and established a store, afterwards holding various county and city offices. See *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols. New York, 1928-1936), edited by Dumas Malone, 20:221, under sketch of William Wilkins.

On the 26th of January the brethren came to the house of Packandgihhilles on the Woapikamikunk, who received them in a very friendly manner. As soon as he learned the object of their coming, he rejoiced over it, and said, he could assure them beforehand, that the chiefs and all their men, women and children would also rejoice over it, when they should hear of it. He immediately sent a messenger to Chief Tedpachsit, or as he is sometimes called, Tetuppachkschi, who lives in another town. In conversation with the brethren, he remarked that his children, thereby meaning, on the whole, the young people of his nation, were foolish and would not listen to his admonitions, but that he hoped when Christian Indians with their teachers came among them, they would become better. The selfsame sentiment was hereupon expressed by Chief Tedpachsit, who welcomed them with expressions of sincere joy and genuine respect. The Delawares in this neighborhood live in six towns of considerable size. Most of the men were quite a distance away on the chase. Still, a considerable number assembled on the 29th in the house of Packandgihhilles, to whom Charles delivered the message, which he had brought from here, with the usual ceremonies, and afterwards handed over to the Chief the string of wampum. The testimonies of pleasure were hereupon general. The following day they gathered again, when the Chief, in the name of all those present, gave his answer. The daily text on this wonderful day, when the Delawares in regular national manner gave their consent again to have the gospel preached to them, and to this end invited the Christian Indians and their teachers to come to them, and live among them, was: "I shall be with them, yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Ezek. 37:27. (See the whole chapter from which these words are taken.) On February 2d, the brethren began their return journey and reached home after sixteen days.[7] The distance between here and the Delaware towns on the Woapikamikunk seems to be, in a straight line, by land, about 430 miles,[8] according to the report of Charles and Jacob, which is a little farther than from here to Bethlehem.

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[6] As wampum was a medium of exchange, its color, material, and quality of workmanship were subject to definite standards. Coral, instead of the prescribed shell wampum, was counterfeit. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:904-9.

While our deputies remained on the Woapikamikunk, they saw many Indians, who formerly lived in mission stations on the Muskingum, as well as in Pettquotting, and were baptized there. These especially showed their joy, that teachers desired to live among them. Some said that they would at once give up drinking, and others, that immediately after the arrival of the teachers, they would ask permission to live with them. Old Isaac, who was accustomed to lead the singing and to preach for many years, is still living, but very decrepit. The brethren did not see him. The above-mentioned land where the chestnut trees grow, lies on a little stream, which flows into the Woapikamikunk, and is to be fifteen miles distant from any heathen town. The brethren were of the same opinion as the Chief, that the journey could not be made by land with pack horses, on account of the long distance and the many deep streams, which one had to cross. For some time Indians from the north reported here that on that border war would soon break out, especially between the Delawares and the Six Nations in Canada. Our deputies found this rumor wholly ungrounded. Packandgihhilles assured them that at present there was a very good time throughout the whole Indian country and that there was no appearance that peace should be disturbed from any quarter. The Delawares were invited to a treaty, which is to be held this summer in Post Vincennes, where the good understanding and friendship, which fortunately exists at present between the United States and all western Indians, shall be strengthened. When we received the invitation last April from the chiefs to get up and come to them, we had our suspicions, which were based on past experiences, that perhaps they were not quite sincere in their proffered friendship, and as heathen who were under the power of the god of this world, they might have evil intentions against the gospel. But through the report which our deputies brought, this anxiety passed away entirely. The chiefs desire not only to have good friendship kept up with us, but showed a strong wish to have us in their neighborhood, so that the gospel might be preached to their young people, because, according to their mind, only then can the betterment of these be expected.

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[7] According to the "Minutes of the Helpers' Conference, 1800-1802," page 184, the Indians returned to Goshen February 17.

[8] The distance from Gnadenhütten, Ohio, to Anderson, Indiana, is 262 miles by rail. Gnadenhütten is about seven miles from Goshen.

On the whole, Br. Zeisberger thinks that never before since the beginning of the mission among the Indians, has there been such a favorable and cheering outlook for the spread of the gospel among them, as opens itself before our eyes on the Woapikamikunk. It pleases us also that our brethren, who have preached the gospel in the mission for so many years, and under so many continuous hardships, without having any temporal advantage from it, or seeking it, or even having a semblance thereof, faithfully persevered in spite of all the wanderings of the congregation entrusted to them, and have won for themselves thereby a firmly established good reputation among the heathen, who were thereby moved to give God the honor.

Our deputies were everywhere treated as such, in the friendliest manner. On an afternoon they stopped at a Chippeway house to rest a little and to smoke a pipe. The Chippeway urged them with much politeness to remain overnight, which they accepted, and made use of the opportunity to preach him the gospel. From the simple narrative of events we learned with pleasure, that, according to the admonition of the Apostle Peter, (I Pet. 3:15) they were always ready to give an answer to every man that asked for a reason of the hope that was in them, and that with gentleness and fear. The neighborhood on the Woapikamikunk is described by our deputies as very fruitful and beautiful. They have no high hills, but many gentle slopes. One meets natural meadows upon which the cattle find pasture the year round. The land on the river and on the streamlets has no stones and in winter seldom remains covered with snow longer than twenty-four hours. The Indians have horses, cattle, hogs and fowls. The white people built fences for them and do other work for pay in skins. In Hamilton's mill, about 100 miles distant from the Delaware towns, flour is sold at two dollars per hundred. A family of white people is said to live about ten miles from the place which has been offered us for a settlement. They were taken captives in the war and have no inclination to return to their former home.

It is known that the Indians at all seasons of the year travel the longest day's journeys, and when an unforeseen circumstance arises, or a difficulty presents itself, soon find means to help themselves. The following examples thereof, from the narrative which the brethren Charles and Jacob gave us of their recent journey, deserve to be mentioned in this connection. Between the Sandusky and the Woapikamikunk they came to a broad and deep brook, on both sides of which was a thick crust of ice, the middle was open, and had a strong current. They broke off on the one side a large piece of ice, whereupon, as if on a raft, they paddled themselves to the other side and got there safely. On their return journey a trader asked them to bring a horse here, which he had traded with one of our Indians for a gun. They rode it until they came to a ford over the Muskingum, about sixteen miles from here, and as the river was high, and the horse could not swim, they left it behind. If one can help oneself under all circumstances in traveling in the Indian country, it is of the utmost importance. Charles and Jacob, by their faithful fulfillment of the task given them, rendered the mission an important service. It was a journey which, at this season of the year, could be made only by Indians. Charles related that on the last day of their journey, Jacob had expressed himself that Br. David had told them before their setting out on the journey, that the Saviour would be with them, and keep their hearts well on the whole journey, which, said he, had been the case with him. He added, that formerly, when he was on the chase only a few days, he became sick; this time however he had also felt well and strong in body, although he was an old man and had made such a long journey in winter. In the evening meeting Br. Zeisberger reminded the brethren and sisters of the various steps taken to begin a mission on the Woapikamikunk, and said, he hoped that all brethren would be willing to help make canoes for those who expected to go there by water early this spring, and especially do everything in their power, with pleasure, to assist in the furtherance of the work of the Lord.

Feb. 25. All brethren went up the river for a number of miles to make canoes for the proposed journey to the Woapikamikunk.

March 1. A number of heathen came home and brought three finished canoes with them.

March 16. In these days some persons who want to go to the Woapikamikunk, but who have no permission to do so, give us some trouble. The brethren and sisters were spoken to individually, and the Saviour gave grace, that several quarrels could be set aside in a kindly way.

March 21. After the thanksgiving liturgy, Br. Kluge preached his farewell sermon to the congregation, on the words of Paul (Col. 4:3).

March 24. Br. Zeisberger exhorted all adult Indians who were on the point of moving away from us, to remain true to the Saviour; to show through word and deed that they believed on Him, and to be obedient to their new teachers. At eleven o'clock, the whole colony eighteen persons strong, after a heartening farewell, began their journey, in five canoes, down the Muskingum. Br. and Sr. Mortimer and their little child accompanied them to Gnadenhütten, from which place they returned on the 26th.

ADDRESSES TO GOVERNORS HARRISON AND ST. CLAIR

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM H. HARRISON, ESQ.
Governor of Indiana Territory [1]

SIR,

We, the undersigned, Missionaries of the Church of the United Brethren, at present resident at Goshen, a Christian Indian town, on the tract of land called Schönbrunn, on the river Muskingum, humbly beg leave to present our best to Your Excellency and to inform You, that we purpose early, in the ensuing spring to accompany a small colony of Christian Indians from here, and to settle with them on a branch of the White River, whither we have been invited by a special message from the chiefs and council of the Delaware nation, whose principal towns are in that neighborhood.

The history and character of the missions which have been for manny years, carried on by the Church of the United Brethren among the Indians of this country, are probably not altogether unknown to Your Excellency. The grand objects thereof have been uniformly to preach the gospel to the Indians, establish schools and inculcate habits of industry and sobriety among them, and to instruct them to live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; in the prosecution of which within the extensive Indiana territory, we flatter ourselves that we may at all times rely on Your Excellency's friendly support and auspices.

We have been informed, by a deputation of Indians, who are just arrived here from White River, that traders from among the adjacent white settlers are in the habit of introducing spirituous liquors among the inhabitants there; a practice which we are persuaded you will agree with us, must not only greatly impede the objects of the mission, which we propose to undertake, but by exposing the Indians to fraud and imposition and embroiling them in quarrels, endangers the peace and friendship which happily subsists between them & the United States. The Chiefs of the Delawares who are well acquainted with our principles on this head, have offered us a place of settlement at the distance of fifteen miles from any of their towns, and have been pleased to make the voluntary promise, that they will do their utmost to prevent the bringing of spirituous liquors into or near our settlement, or our being molested by any drunken persons. They have however as is known, but little controul over the white traders, who traverse the Indian country, and frequently take up their abode among them. We have therefore very humbly to request the favor of Your Excellency that You would be pleased, in such a manner, as to Your wisdom may seem meet, to authorize and enable us the subscribed & our successors, to prevent any spirituous liquors from being offered for sale or barter, or used as an enticement to trade, within a specified distance—say perhaps ten miles—of any town or settlement of Indians, that may be made under our direction, within the limits of Your jurisdiction.[2] We have no desire to prevent any person whatever from exercising a free commerce with the members of our Society: we wish merely to be serviable to our fellow-men by the furthering of good and preventing of mischief to them.

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[1] From a copy in "Miscellaneous Papers," Moravian Archives. The letter is written in English.

We have the honor to be very respectfully
Sir
Your Excellency's most obedient servants
(Signed) John Peter Kluge } Missionaries
Abraham Luckenbach }

Goshen, Schönbrunn tract
River Muskingum 23 Febr. 1801.

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[2] See *ante*, 18n.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ARTHUR ST CLAIR ESQRE GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY[3]

SIR

By favor of our particular friends the Revd Mess' Kluge & Luckenbach, we the undersigned missionaries of the Church of the United Brethren, residing at Goshen, on the tract of Land called Schönbrunn on the river Muskingum, beg leave to present our best respects to Your Excellency, and to return you our humble thanks for the tokens of favor and protection, which we, and the Christian Indians among whom we dwell, have the happiness to enjoy under your auspicious government.

Your Excellencys favorable reception of our address to You of the 28th October 1798, and Your recommendation of the petition therein contained to the Legislative Council and Hous[e] of Representatives in consequence of which an act has been passed to prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors either here, or in any other town or settlement of Indians within the territory, that may be established by the Society of United Brethren for propagating the gospel among the heathen; [4]—call for our especial and warmest thanks. Since the act has become known, we have no longer been molested by the venders of spirituous liquors in our endeavours to be serviceable to the Indians who live with us

The Revd Mess' Kluge and Luckenbach, in consequence of a message sent hither from the Chiefs of the Delawares on White river in April last, requesting that Christian Indians and ministers from hence might come and reside among them, arrived some time since from Bethlehem, and intend to settle on the district of land which the chiefs have allotted to them, and to preach the gospel there. White river, if we have been rightly informed, is not within the limits of the territory; but we can entertain no doubt, but that these our brethren will experience the same countenance & protection under the administration of Governor Harrison, that we are favored with under that of your Excellency. The enclosed is copy of an address which they have forwarded to him.

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[3] From a copy in "Miscellaneous Papers," Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

[4] Act of December 6, 1799, *Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800*, edited by Theodore Calvin Pease (*Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. 17, Springfield, 1925), 415-16. The letter of October 28 is printed in *The St. Clair Papers . . .*, edited by William Henry Smith (2 vols. Cincinnati, 1882), 2:433-34, and St. Clair's favorable recommendation in *Journal of the House of Representatives . . . 1799* (Cincinnati, 1800), 94.

Wishing that your Excellency may enjoy many years of encreasing happiness, we have the honor to be very respectfully

Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servants
(Signed) DAVID ZEISBERGER } Missionaries
BENJN MORTIMER }

GOSHEN, SCHÖNBRUNN TRACT
RIVER MUSKINGUM
9 March 1801.

DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF BR. AND SR. KLUGE AND BR. LUCKENBACH FROM GOSHEN ON THE MUSKINGUM TO WHITE RIVER, MARCH 24 TO MAY 25, 1801

After we had spent this winter, strengthened in soul and body, among our dear friends in Goshen and had enjoyed much kindness, we bid good-by, at a love feast,[1] both to our dear white and our brown brethren, in the most affectionate manner, and at the celebration of the Holy Communion we pledged ourselves to preach the Cross and the sufferings of Christ until we should see Him face to face, after which, with a heart full of love to our dear brethren and accompanied by their heartiest blessings, we started on our journey on March 24 in five canoes in company with the following Indian brethren: John Thomas, with his wife Catherine and three children—Marcus, Juliana and Bethia—Jacob and his wife, Mary, the widower Joshua and his son Christian and the widow Abigael,[2] with her daughter, Anna Salome and two grandchildren, all together thirteen persons. Two Indians, viz. Ska and Michael were sent with us as boatmen for our canoe; counting these two Indians there were fifteen Indians in our party which was increased by Br. and Sr. Mortimer and their little son who accompanied us as far as Gnadenhütten. With this party we rowed, in pretty cold weather and in presence of our brethren at Goshen, quickly down the river. Half a mile from Gnadenhütten the Indians signaled our approach with several shots from the canoes, and just at noon we arrived there among our dear brethren. After we had made still more preparations for our journey and had provided ourselves with necessities, and had conversed agreeably with our dear Brethren Hübner, Peter,[3] Mortimer, we bade them good-by at noon on the 25th and immediately afterwards continued our journey. At 4 P. M. we reached Salem and disembarked for a short time at Mr. Carr's. Then we rowed two miles below Salem, where we pitched our tent for the first time in the woods. Our two Indians at once built a huge log fire in front of our tent. Although it was pretty cold, we felt little of it in our tent, near the great fire. In the evening we sang some verses as an evening blessing, and when we ceased singing the Indians sang hymns with their children for a long time—as we had never heard them sing at church. One of our boatmen, Ska, had returned during the night to Mr. Carr at Salem and on the morning of 26th he came back to camp with Mr. Carr. As soon as this Indian had breakfasted we started at 8 o'clock. It was pretty cold today, so that we tried to keep warm by paddling. After making two miles we passed new farms and some miles further we passed the former Indian town, Newcomera,[4] which is a fine level place. Not far from here our Indians shot a number of ducks, of which we saw a great number as well as geese in large flocks. The course of the river is very winding and has many small islands. At noon we landed for a short time, and the Indians made a big fire around which we all encamped and warmed ourselves. Whoever had anything to eat, ate it. Half an hour later we continued our journey and four miles beyond we passed the old Indian town, White Eyes Town. Quite near it old Indian Jacob recognized

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[1] "*Love-feasts* were held upon many occasions; birthdays, anniversaries of baptisms, the arrival or departure of brethren, were thus observed." Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 1:xxx. They are still important in the Moravian church calendar.

[2] An Indian woman named Abigail applied for admission to the Clinton River mission in 1784, but an earlier unsatisfactory connection with the church prevented her acceptance. In 1796, a widow, she appeared at the mission at Fairfield on the Thames, with some Indians from "Miami Bay" (the Fort Wayne region?) and was given leave to remain. *Ibid.*, 1:198; 2:456, 463.

[3] Lewis Hübner became pastor at Gnadenhütten in 1800. David Peter came from Bethlehem to Gnadenhütten in 1799, to take charge of a store. De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger*, 657, 658.

[4] Newcomerstown. Netawatwees lived at this village for several years after 1760. *History of Coshocton County, Ohio . . .*, compiled by N. N. Hill, Jr. (Newark, Ohio, 1881), 237-38.

his old home. Half a mile further we encountered a waterfall and had to disembark, while three Indians safely directed our canoes over the same. It was amusing to see how the swift current bore the canoe along like an arrow. Yet at the same time great attention was necessary, on account of the many large rocks in the water. After all the canoes had passed down safely we got into them again. Half a mile further we saw many large, fat turkeys. The Indians immediately fired at them and killed three. Some miles beyond we landed and the tents were pitched for the night. After supper Br. Kluge held a service for the Indians.

27th. At 8 o'clock A. M. we continued our journey. By 10 A. M. we reached the place which many years before had been the town of Goshaching.[5] At present a white man by the name of Buckingham lives here. He kindly begged us to land for a short time, which we did in order to warm ourselves a little. After an hour's rest we rowed on, very soon passing the old mission settlement Lichtenau. It is all covered with thick brush, with hardly a sign of its having been a village. We looked at it with sadness and remembered again the blessings which this mission station has received from the Saviour as well as the trials which the Indian congregation suffered at that time and in silence thanked our Saviour for the preservation of all three mission stations. The shores are always high on the one side and low on the other. The high, rocky hills continually change into various shapes so that it is very pleasant to travel by water, especially when the weather is as fine as it was today to our joy. At noon we landed at the mouth of Wild Creek, which is not half as wide as the Muskingum, and the water is not as clear. After we had stopped there for an hour and had eaten our dinner we continued our journey. At 3 P. M.

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[5] Goschaching or Goschachgünk, the second Delaware capital, on the site of the present Coshocton. It was destroyed by the whites in 1781. De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger,* 707; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* 1:351.

we reached a shabby little town, called Wapitameké.[6] The inhabitants are Irish. We inquired whether we could buy some corn meal for our Indians but none could be had. We did not stop but rowed on at once. After we had gone several miles we looked around for a suitable camping ground. We found quite a pleasant one, where we landed and put up our tents. After supper the Indian brethren kept up fine singing while we fell asleep.

28th. In good spirits we left our camp at 8 o'clock and continued our journey, reaching Licking[7] at 11 o'clock where there is a post office and where Br. Kluge mailed several letters to Bethlehem and Lititz, Pa. They are building up a town, and several houses have been erected. There is also a considerable waterfall in the Muskingum, which we passed over in presence of many white people. Hardly had we left here when it began to rain hard, and we were forced to land and put up our tents. The rain continued all afternoon and we spent the time half wet in our tent.

Sunday, the 29th. It rained and snowed the whole day so that we remained in our tent, which was very small for three persons. One of our Indians, Ska, went hunting but shot nothing; he returned wet to camp. During the afternoon, when the rain had stopped somewhat, our little company of pilgrims gathered around the fire in front of our tent, and Br. Kluge read from the story of Christ's sufferings. Br. Joshua translated what was read into the Indian language. In the afternoon two of our Indians went hunting but only brought a pheasant to camp. With it Sr. Kluge boiled a good soup for us in the evening. Because we had to remain quiet she made use of the day to bake good bread for our journey at a big log fire. Not far from camp we found in the woods much corn salad (rabunsel (Fedia)) with which we made a good salad.[8] We were also visited today at different times by the white people living in this neighborhood. They did not look much cleaner than the Indians. In the evening our Indians sang hymns for quite a while. John Thomas always led the singing. After a quiet night and eating breakfast we would have liked to start at once but, because two of our Indians were away hunting, we had to wait longer than usual, not starting till 10 o'clock. The weather was clear and warm. When we had gone six miles we came to a pretty high waterfall[9] which ran across the whole Muskingum. It was more like a dam, full of large rocks which gave us some uneasiness how to get over it, at which time the text of the day was very comforting to us. It was: 'He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night from before the people.' Ex. 13:22. And thus we also experienced the fact that the Lord was with us. Although our canoe was carried away by the strong current, it lodged on a rock and it looked as if it would be dashed to pieces, but nevertheless the Saviour helped us. Our Indians at once jumped into the water and taking hold of the canoe, drew it down safely from the rock, without its having sustained the least damage, for which we thanked our dear Lord from the bottom of our hearts. Quite happy, we again embarked and continued our journey. When we had progressed about a mile further we passed Salt Creek. All day long today we were between hills, rocks and islands. The hymn occurred to us: "Where are you, ye scholars of eternal grace," and we sang it in our canoe. Today we passed many detached houses but, like others we had passed, they resembled Indian houses. We landed at one of them in order to buy some milk. The owner of this house not only gave us and the Indians milk without cost but also some molasses for the Indian children. Our caravan of five Indian canoes attracted much attention among the white people. Many inquired whether all the

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[6] Probably Waketameki, or Wakatomica, near the present Dresden, Muskingum County. De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger,* 714.

[7] Zanesville, laid out in 1799 on the bank of the Muskingum, opposite the mouth of Licking Creek.

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[8] The corn salad belongs to the genus *Valerianella*.

[9] Duncan's Falls are nine miles below Zanesville.

Indians would move away from Goshen. A child at the house where we got the milk, from fear of the Indians had hidden under a bed and could not be persuaded to come out as long as we were there. Some miles before reaching the campground our two Indian boatmen went ashore, with our permission, to hunt. In the meantime we two white brethren rowed on quite alone to camp. We landed with the others and put up our tent. In the evening, when it was dark, our hunters came with two fat turkeys. After supper we held a service with our little Indian company and read them today's history of our Lord's Passion (sufferings). Afterwards we sang some Passion liturgies, translated into Indian, and then retired quietly and happy.

31st. At 9 o'clock we started and had fine weather. After going some miles one of our boatmen shot a fat turkey. Towards noon we saw, among many others, a very large rock, near the shore, rising out of the water. It looked exactly like a very large ship and, at a distance, like a stranded vessel. On the top of this rock there was fine, green shrubbery, making an attractive picture. At noon we landed at a small, rocky island and ate our dinner. After half an hour's delay we continued our journey, passing many farms, some of which were very fine. Everywhere the people climbed up on the fences in order to see us better. Now we passed Pamballineka Creek, on both sides of which there were fine farms, just as is the case along the Muskingum, for which reason this place is called a settlement. At 4 o'clock we passed Wolf Creek, but it is very small. At 5 o'clock we landed twenty miles distant from Marietta. In the evening after dark many people, men and women, came to our camp and brought our Indians pails of milk and some tobacco as a present. After they had left and it was quiet again Br. Kluge held a service for the Indian brethren, reminding them of the solemnity of these days: that the Lord suffered for us and took upon Himself our sins and that they should think of it, etc. During the night some bad white people on the opposite side of the Muskingum tried by noise to irritate the Indians. They made every effort but our Indians did not reply. We were very thankful so that the racket, made by the whites, soon ceased.

April 1. Quite early in the morning the same white people who had brought the Indians the milk last night, visited us and stayed with us till we started at 8 o'clock. At 3 P. M. we arrived at Marietta and pitched our tents in the woods, about half a mile from the city. Hardly had we finished when it began to rain hard but when it had ceased somewhat we went, the same day, to the city in order to purchase some necessities for ourselves and the Indians. The first thing we did was to deliver our letters of introduction to several gentlemen, with the hope of obtaining good advice from the one or the other, both for our information while here, as for our further journey. The first of these gentlemen, Mr. Stewart, welcomed us most kindly and took us to a store of a friend, where we could buy what we needed and also have our bank notes, which we could not use where we were going, exchanged for continental money. Mr. Meigs,[10] also received us very friendly, offered us his services in whatever way he could assist us. He gave the Indians some potatoes. But in respect to the object of our journey and in what way we could accomplish it most easily, we could learn nothing here, because these gentlemen were entirely unacquainted with the country about the White River. They knew of several roads but could not tell us which would be the most convenient for us. Furthermore, these gentlemen know the Brethren well, praised our undertaking as something very good and wished us God's blessing. They also invited us to breakfast next day but as we did not wish to leave our Indians alone, we thanked them for their kind invitation.

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[10] Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., was one of the surveyors with the Ohio Company, and came to the mouth of the Muskingum in 1788. In 1801 he was appointed Indian agent to the Cherokee. His son, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., received an appointment as territorial judge in 1798. In 1799 he was elected to represent Marietta in the territorial assembly.

2d. At 8 o'clock we started in our canoes for the mouth of the Muskingum; we landed on the right bank where Mr. Gillman lives almost alone. We also had a letter of introduction to him. We called on this gentleman but soon found that Mr. Gillman, Sr., who fills the office of Supreme Court Judge[11] and to whom the letter was addressed, was not at home but on official duty in Cincinnati. But we were most kindly received and entertained by young Mr. Gillman, who is a merchant, and his mother, Mrs. Judge Gillman. They remembered Br. Heckenwelder whom they knew personally. Marietta is a pretty little town, with an especially fine situation, in a pleasing neighborhood, near the mouth of the Muskingum. On the one side the town fronts the Ohio which is quite broad here. There is, at present, a large trade here, for which the merchants have had a small ship built. We saw it lying at anchor, ready to be loaded with flour and go down the Mississippi, and then sail from there to Havana. Mr. Gillman told us this had never been done before from Marietta. At 1 P. M. we left Marietta and with pleasure in the fine warm weather rowed down the beautiful Ohio. The Ohio is fully a mile broad here and there are various large islands on which the finest farms and large houses are located. It is the same case on both sides of the Ohio; for a distance of fifteen miles both shores are full of splendid farms, offering finest views. At 5 P. M. we landed for the first time on the Ohio, and before retiring sang some verses in our tent as usual; for good reasons, there was no service for the Indians this evening.

3d. With fine weather we continued our journey and noticed that in this region the trees were blossoming finely and were partly green already. Altogether it seemed to us that along the Ohio it was much warmer than on the Muskingum. In the evening we found a fine camping ground and pitched our tent among all kinds of beautiful flowers. After supper Br. Kluge read to the Indians the history of the sufferings of Christ for Good Friday, and Br. Joshua translated as usual. Several of the Indian brethren were much moved and shed tears. In the night it was very windy, but we slept quietly and undisturbed till morning.

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[11] Joseph Gilman moved with his wife and son, Benjamin Ives Gilman, to Marietta in 1789. He held several judicial offices, and in 1796 was appointed to the General Court.

4th. As it began to rain hard we could not break camp till 11 o'clock, when the weather cleared up beautifully. In the afternoon we came to a German settlement. Because we were in need of provisions and there is no game in this neighborhood on account of the many white people, we bought two loaves of bread, some meat and eggs from the Germans. We found these provisions in abundance and not dear. Yesterday we had also bought some bacon for our Indian boatmen, because we were to furnish them with provisions on the entire journey. Although they often went hunting, especially as long as we were in the Muskingum, they never shot anything but one deer and, on two occasions, turkeys. They do not care for the latter, as we saw that they carried with them, for several days, a large turkey. In the evening we again pitched our tents at a beautiful spot, rich in flowers. We had made 85 miles on the Ohio, from the mouth of the Muskingum. Before dark this evening, a severe thunderstorm with much rain came up, so that we could not hold a service with our Indian brethren. But we three white brethren remembered that our Lord had been buried for us, sang some Passion hymns together, and were much comforted.

Sunday, the 5th. It being Easter Sunday, we assembled our little Indian congregation before our tent early in the morning. Br. Kluge made an address and reminded them of the significance of the day, reading the story of the resurrection. We sang hymns of thanks and praises to our risen Lord, who perceptibly blessed us in heart and soul. As the weather was again unpleasant, we longed for the end of our journey but left at once, after the service, and continued on our way. At noon we passed a settlement, Point Pleasant; it lies near the Kanhawa Creek which is almost as wide as the Muskingum. The settlement belongs to a Col. Lewis to whom we were recommended by Br. Heckenwelder,[12] but we heard, on our arrival, that he had died long since in consequence of being kicked by a horse. Four miles beyond we came to a French settlement,[13] where we inquired for a gentleman to whom we also had a letter, but he had moved to Kentucky some time ago. Here many Frenchmen gathered at the river to hear about our journey with the Indians. Both of these settlements are small and unimportant places. They had large orchards planted with peach trees, much like a forest. All were in full bloom and made a fine appearance from a distance. The trees on both sides of the Ohio were covered with beautiful, green foliage.

[12] In the "Narrative of John Heckewelder's Journey to the Wabash in 1792," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 12 (1888): 34-35, Heckewelder tells of stopping at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kanawha River, "the spot where in 1774, Col. Lewis had a severe engagement with the Shawanese in which the latter were totally defeated. The Virginian government gave Col. Lewis, as acknowledgment of his services, a grant of 9000 acres of land on which he has for seven years been laying out a town, now consisting of 30 houses. . . . It is very beautifully situated on a high bank." On the return from the Wabash, Heckewelder mentions stopping again at Point Pleasant, and spending the night with "Col. Lewis." *Ibid.,* 12:181. Heckewelder has apparently confused General Andrew Lewis who led the Virginia forces at Point Pleasant and who died in 1781, with his son Thomas, who fought at Point Pleasant, probably as a volunteer. It was Thomas who laid out the town of Point Pleasant in 1789. He died in 1800. Louise Phelps Kellogg (ed.), *Frontier Advance on the River Ohio* (Wisconsin Historical *Collections,* vol. 23, Madison, 1916), 77n.

[13] Gallipolis was settled by a French colony in 1790, under the auspices of the Scioto Company. Heckewelder spent a day there in 1792, "visiting the skilled workmen and the gardens laid out in European style." Heckewelder, "Narrative," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 12:35-36.

Before retiring in the evening we held a service for the Indian brethren.

6th. At 8 o'clock we again started but toward noon it began to rain hard, which compelled us, after we had rowed for several hours in the rain, and were wet to the skin, to encamp at 3 o'clock. In the evening the rain slackened so that, sitting around the fire in dense smoke, we could hold a service with the Indian brethren. On retiring to rest it again began to rain hard. A windstorm came up and continued all night; we were quite wet in our little tent.

7th. Because the rain continued we could not start out today. We made use of the time to dry our wet clothes at a smoky log fire. Two of our Indians went hunting but returned empty-handed. The weather cleared toward evening and we could, therefore, hold a service with our brethren.

8th. We broke camp at 6 o'clock—it has never been so early before. The reason was because the Indians had decided to reach Siota today, which we did at 5 P. M. We had made, therefore, 60 miles today. The strong current had helped us because the water had risen fully 4 feet from the heavy rain in the night of the 7th. In the morning when we started, it was so foggy that we could not see the shore with its high trees. Our canoes lost sight of each other, and we did not see till the fog rose how scattered our little fleet was, but we now gathered together again. In these 60 miles we only saw wretched little farm houses now and then, and passed several creeks, among them the Sioto, which is the largest. The little settlement at the mouth of the same,[14] seems to be inhabited by people who principally drink whisky. For, as we rowed past, many stood on the bank and called loudly to us, asking whether we wished to have some whisky. All whom we saw from our canoes were drunk and we could understand the reason of their shouting. Perhaps they thought we were also friends of their beloved whisky and would wish to join them in their drinking.[15] We did not reply to them but rowed three miles beyond, where we landed and pitched our tents. Hardly had we finished when some turkeys flew near our camp and our Indians shot several. During the night the river rose considerably. Before going to sleep we had a service with our Indian brethren.

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[14] Alexandria, laid out in 1799 on the west bank of the Scioto. Nelson W. Evans, *History of Scioto County, Ohio . . .* (Portsmouth, Ohio, 1903), 411-12. Portsmouth, on the east bank, was not laid out until 1803. *Ibid.*, 403 ff.

9th. We rejoiced at the height of the river but, hardly had we gone a few miles, when a terrible windstorm arose. It was against us and made our rowing very hard. In the afternoon the wind increased and the waves on the Ohio were so high that two of our Indian brethren's canoes were again and again filled with water. They had to go ashore to escape. We landed also, and waited for them, so that we could only make 30 miles today. We passed a little settlement, a place of a few houses, called Washington.[16] Two miles from here we landed in the woods and pitched our tents. This region is so densely settled that we hardly found a bit of space in the forest to set up our camp. It was near a farm, on a road along the Ohio, so that white people, more than we cared for, visited us. Among these was a Trexler, a brother of the landlord of the same name, living on the road between Lititz and Bethlehem. He begged Br. Kluge to write him whether on the White River, to which we were going, there was any good land and that, in that case, he would move there and become our neighbor. He added, you will not be sorry if I become your neighbor, etc., etc.

Br. Kluge told him the reason of our journey—to preach the gospel to the Indians and that the land belonged to them so that we could not have any white people as neighbors, etc. Late at night a boat arrived from Cincinnati. It also stopped at this place, near us. But we told the people that if they had any whisky they must not give any to our Indians or we would pack up at once, although it was late—or that they should encamp at some other place. They replied that they wanted to drink their whisky themselves and would positively not give the Indians any, and we saw that they kept their word.

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[15] The German reads: "Und also auch Theil an ihrer Sauffreude nehmen lassen wollten."

[16] Washington, at the mouth of Ohio Brush Creek, was the county seat of Adams County at this time. Nelson W. Evans and Emmons B. Stivers, *History of Adams County, Ohio. . .* (West Union, Ohio, 1900), 133-34.

10th. It was again very stormy. We passed many fine farms. One was situated on a high mountain; it looked very beautiful at a distance. On almost all the farms we see large peach orchards. They are in full bloom and look very pretty from the river. In the afternoon we passed Limestone[17] which is a small, neat town. It is situated on a fine plateau and has a street of attractive houses along the Ohio. After we had gone about 6 miles further we landed, having made 50 miles today.

11th. In the morning at 7 o'clock we started again and continued our journey in favorable weather. When we had gone about three miles we passed Augusta, a small town, consisting of a few large houses. In the evening we were glad to reach the Little Miami, opposite to which we built our camp.

Sunday, the 12th. At 8 o'clock we set out and landed for a short time at the little town of Columbia, where we delivered our letters of introduction to two different men. They both seemed to be poor people and hardly remembered Br. Heckenwelder. The one tried for half an hour to read aloud the little letter, so that we could see the good man was probably not accustomed to read letters. As our time was valuable we were sorry for the long delay. All that we gained from these men was that they offered us their services for the *future,* if they could help us. Columbia consists of a few poor houses so that it can hardly be called a town.[18] In the neighborhood one sees some farms here and there, but they are very much scattered. After finishing our business we left at once and rowed briskly, arriving at noon at Cincinnati. We passed the city and encamped a mile beyond in the woods. We went into the city where we accidentally met a Mr. Ziegler, (a merchant, who, although unknown to us, showed us great kindness even though we had no letter of introduction to him).[19] He was very friendly to us and told us that he had known the Brethren for many years. He also gave us much information about the White River, the place of our destination, and promised at all times to be a friend. We thanked him for his promise and said we would perhaps make use of it. We then bought what we needed for our new homes and he gave them to us at a reasonable price. Happy in finding a friend in Mr. Ziegler we visited Supreme Court Judge Gillman from Marietta who on account of his office, was here at present, and were received with much kindness by this respectable gentleman. When Br. Kluge expressed the wish to call on the Governor, to whom we had a letter of introduction[20] from our dear Brethren Zeisberger and

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[17] Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky. Said Heckewelder in 1792: "This place is in a manner the entrance to Kentucky where most boats (or all boats going to the waterfalls of the Ohio) land, unload and continue overland on their journey to the more inhabited neighborhoods." Heckewelder, "Narrative," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 12:38.

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[18] Columbia, now within the limits of Cincinnati, was laid out in 1788. Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, 12:38, gives the number of inhabitants in 1792 as over 1100, and mentions "the many well built houses."

[19] Major David Ziegler's store on Front Street, Cincinnati, was at this time about two years old. Born in Heidelberg in 1748, he came to America when about twenty-seven years of age, with several years of military service already behind him. He served in the Revolution, and during this period visited Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. After the war he operated a store at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for a time, then re-entered the army, serving under Harmar and St. Clair. In 1792 he resigned, and about five years later moved to Cincinnati. George A. Katzenberger, "Major David Ziegler," Ohio Archaeological and Historical *Quarterly,* 21 (1912):127-74; Levering, *History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,* 515.

[20] Printed *ante,* 65-66.

Mortimer in Goshen, Mr. Gillman promised to go, next day, with us to him. After this call we again returned to our camp, where we were visited by many white people from curiosity.

13th. We two, Brs. Kluge and Luckenbach, again called on Mr. Gillman who promised to go with us to the Governor, but we found that Governor St. Clair was not at home. Mr. Gillman then told us that he had already spoken to him about us and that we could therefore visit him alone. Mr. Gillman's duties did not permit him to wait any longer. We then went alone to the Governor and handed him our letters which he read at once and greeted us most kindly. He assured us that he would assist us in every possible way. When we told him of the needs of the poor Indians, traveling with us, he gave us an order on a gentleman who had charge of the state storehouse. He ordered that our Indians should receive a barrel of flour and 67 lbs of salt meat. We called our Indians who received the same and divided it among themselves. We thanked the Governor most heartily in the name of the Indians. He also gave us a letter to the Indian chiefs and recommended us to them to receive us kindly, admonishing them to accept the Word of God and to follow us as their teachers, for then they would be happy, not only in this life but also in eternity. In bidding us good-by he wished us God's blessing in our undertaking.

14th. At 10 o'clock we left Cincinnati which is a neat, respectable town and is continually growing and improving. At noon we passed North Bend, and by 2 P. M. we reached the mouth of the Great Miami, which is about as wide as the Muskingum. The current is strong and we had to row against it with our full strength as we left the Ohio. From the mouth of the Miami for three miles upstream the land is very low on both sides. The high water covered everything like a lake. Further up there is fine, high, land, on which there are many good farms. After we had advanced about 6 miles we passed a pretty large island. A mile beyond we saw a great shoal of fish, which sported on the surface of the water. Our Indians fired into them and killed five. After this we landed and pitched our tent. When we had done this, our Indians again went out to catch fish; John Thomas speared six more. When Br. Kluge made a closer examination, he found that they were carp,[21] but they were not as large as those he had seen in Europe. They tasted just like the European ones, only the meat was much harder. They tasted very good, being the first fish we ate this year. Besides eating a sufficiency today we also fried a quantity for next day's journey.

15th. Everyone cut poles early in the morning, because without them we could do nothing against the strong current. At 10 o'clock, when everything was ready, we started. After we had gone a mile up the Miami, we came to the mouth of the White Water creek. Here we left the Miami and entered the White Water. The current was much stronger than the Miami. Although all used their poles with all their might and worked hard we did not make more than 6 miles. Exhausted, we landed and pitched our tents.

16th. On account of severe, rainy weather we could not start and remained patiently in our tent. The Indian brother, John Thomas, went hunting and was fortunate in shooting a bear. We also received a piece of it. Sr. Kluge roasted it and it tasted excellent. Here we learned with certainty how far we still had to go to reach our destination. As the Indians from White River come here on their hunting excursions, the inhabitants are well acquainted with them and their surroundings. They told us the Indians buy all their cattle from them and that they are frequently about here. Also that the cows are very dear in the Indian country, and that a poor cow costs $40. This we found to be true, later, when we arrived at our destination. The people therefore advised us to buy cows now and drive them along, as we could get them here cheap. We thought the matter over together and first bought a healthy old cow with a bell for $13, but as she could not be driven very well alone, we then bought, besides, a young cow with a calf for $14. She was a very fine, young cow, three years old and gives much milk. This was not only of much benefit to us and the Indians on our journey, but when we reached our destination we saw that without the cow we would have been in great distress because milk, butter and bread was all our food this summer, so that we thanked God that we had this cow.

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[21] These fish were probably suckers.

17th. We had fine weather again and continued our journey with 3 canoes; the two the Indian brethren had were sold here in order to proceed more easily. We three white people, with the Indian sisters, went overland, driving our cows before us. In the evening we encamped just opposite a mill and were visited by many white people. We and the Indian brethren bought some flour here. It cost $2.50 a hundred pounds.

18th. We continued our journey in the same way and walked with our cows through this beautiful country. It was all flat and in the woods was the finest grass, looking like a meadow. Almost every mile there are farms, the owners of which have nearly all moved here from Kentucky. In the evening we came to an Irishman by the name of Harper. He is a good, old man and seems to be an active Presbyterian. He welcomed us and put our cows into his field. We and our Indians pitched our tent quite near the same. He gave the Indians milk and us potatoes free of charge.

19th. It rained the whole day so that we could not move. The water again rose over 3 feet so that the stream resembled a millrace. We were much worried to know how we could proceed with our canoes. Because we had heard from the white people who often visited us in camp that lately, many Indians had fought not far from here and could probably still be found, our old Indian brother Jacob and Ska resolved to go and hunt them up.

But they returned in the afternoon quite wet, with the news that they had found their campground but no Indians. We heard later from a white man who had been in their camp when the Indians were still there, that they had left some days ago and moved on. In the evening we called the Indian brethren together to advise about what should be done in the matter.

20th. It was decided last night that the two Indian brethren, John Thomas and Jacob, should go into the woods in order to find the Indians, if possible, and to get exact information as to the rest of our journey. They took with them a plug of tobacco, around which a white ribbon had been tied, so as, in case they met any Indians, to ask the one or the other to go with this tobacco as a messenger to Woapicamikunk to notify the chiefs of our arrival and that we could not go any farther by water, than twenty miles; and at the same time to remind them of the horses, promised by them for the journey overland.

21st. P. M. Our Indian brethren returned in good spirits. They had encamped in the open air, in the woods, in a hard rain, and had gone for twenty miles without meeting an Indian. They had resolved not to return till they met one of the Indians. Very early as they arose they heard the barking of dogs. They went towards the sound and had hardly gone a couple of miles, when they met an Indian family from Woapicamikunk, in a small camp, and to them they at once stated their wishes. The head of this family at once expressed his willingness to go as a messenger for us to Woapicamikunk and promised in six days to be with us again. He said that with horses it would take us three days to go to Woapicamikunk. Our two Indian brethren were glad that they had now accomplished their object. They ate heartily at the Indian camp and then hastened to us with the welcome message. We were all happy and thanked the Lord for this assistance in our distress. As much as we should have liked to continue our journey we could not, on account of the incessant rain, and remained here for four days. Everything around us was drenched and covered with water, so that we had to build a floor of bark in our tent. Yet we were nearly always wet and all took bad colds. Sr. Kluge, especially, had a most severe one, and at the same time a dreadful headache also, but all disappeared later. When the rain had now ceased, we saw no possibility, with so little assistance, of taking our canoes twenty miles further up the stream, because the river was unusually high and the current ran swiftly. Mr. Harper, on whose farm we were encamped, had shown himself, at all times, as a friend toward us. With other people he often visited us. He conversed on religious subjects with us and showed a great longing for the Word of God, regretting very much that they were not so fortunate as to have a minister in their midst. He lauded our undertaking very much, that of preaching the gospel to the heathen. All these people, with whom we became acquainted here, although poor, love the Word of God. We gave Mr. Harper a little book which Bishop Spangenberg[22] had written and which has been translated into English. He was very thankful for it and repeated his thanks many times. Mr. Harper offered to help us with our canoes to the place decided upon as a landing place, whence we would have to travel overland. He wished also to give Sr. Kluge a horse to ride and then take our canoe in payment. We were happy and thankful to accept this offer because we had tried several times to get a man to assist us with our canoe. No one wished to have the canoe or make us an offer for it. The Indian brethren also sold their canoes and also got a white man as helper for each canoe.

23d. At last we left this camping ground where we had remained so long a time. The white people were skillful and strong canoemen. They worked with wonderful and admirable force with their poles. Where they could not move them they would jump out into the water and draw the canoes along the shore. We two white brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, in company with Mr. Harper, drove our cows while Sr. Kluge rode on horseback. In this way, the first day, we crossed mountains and fine bottom lands through which a small Indian hunting trail leads, making 15 miles. Here we at once pitched our tents on a fine grassplot.

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[22] Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, educated at Jena, became one of the most distinguished members of the Moravian Church and for sixty years, 1733-1792, his leadership was unquestioned in church affairs. His *Selbstbiographie* and Jeremias Risler's *Leben Spangenbergs* (Barby, 1794) give the main facts of his career.

24th. In the early morning one of our white people shot a large deer of which we and our Indians received a share. When all had breakfasted we started. At noon we passed a large Indian campground and about 3 P. M. we finally reached the forks safely.[23] Here our journey by water came to an end, and everything was unloaded from the canoes. Mr. Harper and the other white men now bade us a friendly farewell. They wished us God's blessing and hastened home with the canoes. We at once built a hut of bark for our things and put them under shelter in this dry place. Then, pitching our tent we thanked the Lord that we had come thus far with his assistance. Now we still had a distance of 100 miles[24] by land before us, and we did not yet know how we would accomplish it. Our messenger had not yet returned, but we trusted the Lord that he would find ways and means so that we would at last reach the place of our destination. The White Water creek separates here into two arms, the one from the west and the other from the north. Between these arms or forks we encamped on a stretch of land through which the trail to Woapicamikunk passes, quite near our camp. Quite near there is a fine bottom where our cows found a great quantity of grass. We made ourselves as comfortable as possible and awaited with anxiety the return of our messenger.

25th. A shot was heard early in the morning and our

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[23] The site of Brookville.

[24] The distance from Brookville to Muncie by railroad is 68 miles.

Indian brethren at once returned it several times. Soon after, a young painted Indian arrived. He was encamped only a mile from us and belongs to the family, the head of which had gone for us to Woapicamikunk as our messenger.

Sunday, the 26th. The entire heathen family today visited us during the afternoon. Br. Kluge held a service, after which our Indians asked us whether they could give some flour to the wife of our messenger because they had had no bread for a whole year; living in the woods, they have only meat. Not only did we allow this but also gave some of ours, for which they were very thankful.

27th. Our Indian brethren went hunting, and we white people made use of the fine weather for unpacking our damp clothes. At the same time we anxiously awaited the return of our messenger from Woapicamikunk. In the evening Br. Joshua told us that this Indian family, of which the head had gone as a messenger, had offered their horse, if we wished to continue our journey during the absence of the messenger, so as not to remain the whole time at one place. They also offered themselves with their children, to carry anything in order to help our advance. We considered the matter with our Indian brethren. They were all in favor of it so that we could move on. We accepted the voluntary offer of these heathen and decided to make a beginning next day.

28th. They brought a horse to our camp and just as we were busy packing, a strong bay horse came running, as if by accident, from the woods, without any one being with it. The Indian brethren recognized it as an Indian horse. Without knowing to whom it belonged we caught it at once, and loaded it also. Thus we now had two horses, with which we transported a good part of our things for five miles. Late at night the Indian brethren returned with the horses and brought us the unpleasant news that the messenger had returned from Woapicamikunk, but had brought no horses for our journey. He had found neither the chiefs nor the Indians at home. The former had gone to Post Vincent to make a treaty,[25] and the latter had not yet returned from the hunt. He said further that he had sent our tobacco down the river to the other Indian towns, yet he did not know whether we would receive help, because he thought these Indians also were absent from home. This news was very depressing and we were not a little worried about our journey, because we were in the woods where no help could be found. But as we had begun to move we continued our journey in the hope that our dear Lord would not forsake us.

29th. After our last goods had been loaded we three white travelers started out. Br. Kluge had some tin cooking utensils tied to a stick and carried it on his shoulder, while Sr. Kluge carried a pail of milk. Br. Luckenbach carried his traveling bag on his shoulder. In this way, one encouraging the other, we drove our cows before us; we continued hopeful. When at last we reached the place where our things had been taken, we had to cross the northern branch of the White Water creek because our camp was on the other side. Our Indians brought over one of the pack horses with a wooden saddle, on which each one forded the river. When we had pitched our tent Sr. Kluge cut bread into a dish full of milk, which we ate for our supper, and it tasted good.

30th. By noon all our baggage had been taken five miles further. But we discovered by this first trip, that if in three days we could make only five miles, our journey would be exceedingly slow. For this reason we decided in the evening, with our Indian brethren, to send another messenger from here to Woapicamikunk. If we could get no horses from the Indians we would hire them from the traders for transporting our baggage. After this decision Br. Kluge held a service for the Indian brethren. The entire heathen family who were encamped with us listened attentively. These were the first heathen from Woapicamikunk who heard the sweet gospel of Jesus' love for sinners. Br. Kluge told them the object of our journey and warmly invited them to visit us in the future at our dwelling place and to hear the Word of God. They promised to do this also.

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[25] Governor Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War from the territorial capital at Vincennes on July 15: "For the last ten or twelve weeks I have been constantly engaged in receiving visits from the Chiefs of most of the Indian nations which inhabit this part of the Territory. They all profess and I believe that most of them feel a friendship for the United States—but they make heavy complaints of ill treatment on the part of our Citizens. They say that their people have been killed—their lands settled on—their game wantonly destroyed—& their young men made drunk & cheated of the peltries which formerly procured them necessary articles of Cloathing, arms and ammunition to hunt with. Of the truth of all these charges I am well convinced. The Delaware Chiefs . . . mentioned the loss of six persons . . . since the treaty of Greenvill having been killed by the White people." Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:25.

May 1. First thing in the morning John Thomas got ready to go to Woapicamikunk. Hardly had he gone a mile, when he met the brother of Indian sister Mary, an Indian captain at Woapicamikunk to whom the chiefs had referred our matters during their absence. But he was not at home when our messenger arrived at Woapicamikunk. He had heard it in the woods, from others, and on that account came direct to us with his four horses. We welcomed this Indian heartily and he, also, did so in the same way. He said our horses would soon follow as he had sent word to the Indians. When we now thought of starting, it began to rain most dreadfully, and there was heavy thunder also.

Sunday, the 3d. It had continued raining till this morning when the weather cleared up beautifully. But the water had risen so much that we could not start. In the meantime we could dry our wet clothes, something which had to be done many times on this journey. Br. Kluge held service for the Indian members. During the afternoon a half-breed Indian or mulatto by the name of Wilson came into our camp to hunt his runaway horse. When he described his horse and how he could know it, we were certain that it was his that had run from the woods to our camp and had been caught by our Indians. After seeing the horse he took it along at once. Now we had one horse less. Our joy in the stray horse was short.

4th. We remembered the Single Sisters' festival which the choir celebrates today. Sister Kluge took an especial interest in it with the memories of the many blessings which she had enjoyed at this feast and we all wished this dear choir much blessing from the fullness of Christ's grace.[26] Towards noon we at last broke camp again and moved four miles further. Because we and the Indian brethren had only four horses we had to go back and forth several times till everything had been transported. The heathen family, which has been mentioned several times, went with us and helped us faithfully. We white people separated. Br. Luckenbach went with the first load of baggage to the new camp with some Indians. Br. and Sr. Kluge remained in the old camp till everything had been taken, when they followed with the cows. Hardly had we arrived at our new camping ground when it again began to rain hard. All quickly hunted bark in order to protect our things and also to build huts. Here again we lay in a dreadful rain and thunderstorm. Everything around us swam about as the land was low and the river had everywhere overflowed its banks. The water, within some thirty feet from our tent, was a great flood.

5th. It was Br. Luckenbach's birthday and Sr. Kluge had baked a cake for the same. On account of our yesterday's moving the cake was all mashed, but it tasted very good in the rain. We spent the day very cheerfully together. The rain continued without any let-up for three days.

8th. When it had cleared somewhat, towards noon, we moved two miles further to where the road crosses the same creek. Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach started out first this time in order to build a hut of bark for our things at a place two miles beyond, near the creek where we camped in the evening.

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[26] Within the Moravian communities there was, especially in the eighteenth century, an extreme application of the principle of the division of members into so-called choirs according to age, sex, and condition of life, such as single, married, and widowed.

9th. We built a bark canoe in order to carry us and our things across the creek. At the same time we were anxiously awaiting the Indian, Ska, who had been sent as a messenger to Woapicamikunk in order to get several horses. At noon our canoe of hickory bark was completed. In an hour everything had been taken across the river. Several of our Indians went some distance further this day.

Sunday, the 10th. We again packed up in order to move on as we had done before, hence we could hold no service today.

11th. During the morning the Indians returned with the horses to fetch the last load. Br. Luckenbach led a pack horse; Br. and Sr. Kluge drove the cows, which gave them much trouble today because they always wanted to run back. By evening we were at last five miles further. Now our Indian brethren began to grow impatient because Ska, who had been sent for horses, had not yet returned. They believed the miserable fellow had got to drinking and would never return on that account, because he had forgotten his errand. Later it proved that they were right. As we now saw that we were cheated by this fellow, that we would have to lose much time on the road, with only four horses, and probably miss the planting season, it was resolved that Br. Luckenbach should go with an old heathen Indian who was with us,[27] to the traders at Woapicamikunk and, if possible, hire horses from them in order to travel faster.

12th. During the night we had a dreadful rainstorm and much thunder. Here in the very high woods, where there are walnut and other kinds of trees 100 feet high with their thick limbs, the dreadful cracking and roaring in the pitchy darkness was fearful. We commended ourselves to the gracious protection of our dear Saviour in whose name we had undertaken this difficult journey and then felt very comforted.

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[27] Luckenbach gives the Indian's name as Wangomind. *Post*, 604.

Br. Luckenbach started for Woapicamikunk, with the afore-mentioned old Indian, in order to hire horses. It is said to be a day and a half journey on foot from our present camp. Br. Kluge, with the Indian brethren, transported our baggage some distance further. Our Indians had intended to go 12 miles with their things and then fetch ours but a hard rain delayed them so that they only went five miles, where they made their camp.

13th. Br. and Sr. Kluge moved there today.

14th. Br. Kluge again returned with the Indian brethren in order to fetch our remaining things. By now, everything was at last five miles further. In the afternoon the Indian sisters packed up their kettles and carried them further. We all longed to be at the end of our journey and began to feel the lack of provisions. The corn and flour we had bought for the overland journey for the Indians was almost exhausted. Being all the time on the move, we have had no meat for a long time. But that we have often experienced God's assistance, the following will prove. When Sr. Kluge was in great distress to know what she should prepare for dinner today and was thinking about this problem, an Indian girl came running from the woods and brought her several chicken eggs as a present. They (the Indians) had taken several chickens along from Goshen. Now she was helped all at once and baked excellent pancakes for our dinner. In this way our Father in heaven has often cared for us on this journey.

15th. The Indian brethren, with their things and also some of ours, advanced ten miles further. Br. and Sr. Kluge and the Indian sister Anna Salome, with her two children, remained till the second load. Hardly had the Indian brethren and sisters gone with their things when a heathen Indian family to whom the whisky trade belonged arrived quite near our camp with two barrels of whisky and remained overnight; among them was an old baptized woman. Br. Kluge told them at once that they must not begin their drinking in our neighborhood. In case they did they should go some distance further, for we did not like anything of that kind. To this they, and especially the baptized woman, assured us she knew that—that they would drink none as the whisky did not belong to them. But soon after, when another heathen came, who had gone for us to Woapicamikunk, the drinking began at once. This Indian drank up everything he had. He continued till late at night, painting himself quite black and bellowing like a wild animal in the woods. In this shape he came to our tent (called Br. Kluge—minister), and assured us over and over that he had drunk only a little bit of whisky. Br. Kluge told him to go to sleep but he would not do so till Br. Kluge had shaken hands with him and called him his friend. After this he took another drink and then fell down beastly drunk in the woods. The Indian sister fled with fear to our tent. Because she and Sr. Kluge were much afraid that in his drunkenness he might do us bodily harm if he awoke in the night, we hid his gun, knife, and tomahawk. It can be easily imagined that we did not sleep very comfortably, and that we were thankful when day dawned again. We sighed with a heart full of sadness to our Saviour. He alone was our friend and protector, and comforted us. At daybreak the whisky traders took the drunken Indian a pint of whisky and put it into a hut abandoned by our Indian brethren, so that when he awoke he would taste and begin drinking again. Br. Kluge saw it and went, at once, secretly pouring the whisky on the ground, because he thought it was better on the ground than in an Indian's head, where it made him raving. Had it been possible he would have done the same with the rest of the whisky.

16th. At 6 o'clock in the morning, to our great joy Br. Luckenbach again returned, but without accomplishing his purpose as he could not get any horses. Yet the

Indian, Br. Jacob's son-in-law, returned with Br. Luckenbach, bringing six horses along. His intention was only to help Br. Jacob with his baggage. Besides, he had his wife and children with him, so there were only two horses left for Jacob to pack. Thus we had no more assistance than before. Yet today they gave us five horses so that our things could be transported all at the same time for ten miles to the place where our Indian brethren had gone with a part of the same. This was very agreeable to us but it would have been more so, had our Indian brethren come themselves with the horses, and not sent our two boatmen, Ska and Michael, with a heathen with the horses in Br. Luckenbach's company. For hardly had they arrived when they left everything standing and began drinking to such excess that they did not know what they were doing. They poured this horrid drink, by the pint, down their throats. We did not know what to do because none of our Indian brethren were with us. Several times, indeed, we tried by kindness to restrain them from their dreadful drinking. But in vain, and when we did not cease making protestation to them in order to dissuade them from their drinking, they got angry and told us to leave them alone. How we felt you can easily imagine, and we wished that we had never seen these two fellows, our boatmen, much less have them in our traveling company. On the whole journey they were a veritable plague on account of their drinking and continual noise, as today, when they were drunk. They let the horses stand in the woods. A drunken Indian threw everything down from one of the horses and rode with it to our new camp. Br. Luckenbach hastened with a loaded horse to our Indian brethren, in order to call them to our help. Br. and Sr. Kluge remained some time longer with our things, but as matters continued to become worse, they started with the cows. When we had gone a mile further we found two drunken heathen lying near the roadside; one of them arose, staggering, and with a long knife in his hand, he tried to stop the cows. But Br. Kluge went directly towards him and greeted him in Indian, upon which the Indian turned away with his knife, quite ashamed, and let us pass unmolested. After going some distance we met Br. Jacob and John Thomas; soon after, Br. Luckenbach, also, who was hastening back to get the pack horses and our things from the drunken Indians. He arrived safely in the evening with the horses and baggage. Now our camp was on the hunting ground of the Schawanoses.[28] We found two hunters' huts logged up in Indian fashion. One of them we occupied as our quarters, while the Indians took the other one.

Sunday, the 17th. Br. Kluge held a service for the Indian brethren and reminded them of the glorious ascension of our Lord, because on the 14th we could not observe the day on account of our continual moving. Thus we rejoiced together, thanking Him for all His sufferings, resurrection, and ascension. We asked Him to prepare a place for us in mercy. Some heathen friends of Br. Jacob were present at this service and listened attentively. We felt comforted by our dear Saviour's mercy in all the trying experiences we had passed through. In the evening another dark cloud gathered over us, so that we endured still more severe trials. The dissolute Indian came with the whisky still remaining and encamped a short distance from us. Soon after this another Indian from Fort Hamilton[29] passed us here with two barrels of whisky. To our great joy he did not give the Indians a drop, although they stopped him and called after him, but he paid no attention to their shouting and went several miles further. But the Indian with us soon began to share his whisky for pay among the Indians. Before night both Jacob's son-in-law and Sr. Mary's brother, as well as Ska and Michael, too, were all drunk again. They screamed all night in the woods and acted like madmen. No one who has not seen an Indian drunk can possibly have any conception of it. It is as if they had all been changed into evil spirits.

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[28] Throughout this Diary the above spelling is used for the Shawnee; it is the characteristic form for the eighteenth century. This people was living in amity with the Delawares, as was suggested in the Introduction.

[29] Fort Hamilton was established on the Great Miami in September, 1791. The present city of Hamilton, Ohio, is built on the site of the fort.

We could see how the evil one had already begun with all his strength to oppose our good intentions, before we had reached the place of our labors. We did not know what to do except as soldiers of Christ to gain strength by prayer to our Saviour, who through His death had conquered the Devil, and we then decided to remain steadfast and not let ourselves be dismayed. We thus felt the blessed comfort of our Saviour in our hearts. As it became dark our Indian brethren advised us to withdraw, because they did not know what the drunken heathen would do during the night as they continued their drinking. We therefore took down our tent and pitched it a quarter of a mile away in the woods, in order to be alone and undisturbed at night by the drunken Indians. We could hear and see, from our tent, everything that took place. We were not a little astonished to see that these Indians who, when sober, looked like innocent lambs and were at all times friendly to us, were now like wild animals. We slept little during the night, as can be imagined.

19th. In the morning when they had squandered away everything in drinking, even to the shirts on their bodies, and they were again somewhat sober, Jacob's son-in-law came to excuse himself. The others sat around, one here the other there, with downcast faces and looked as if they had gone through a long spell of sickness.

We made use of the opportunity for getting away from here. We spoke with our Indian brethren and asked them to persuade the heathen, to whom the horses belonged, to start with us. Should they not agree to it, then we would leave everything behind and move on. It was impossible for us to see *this* life any longer. They agreed to start but, as we were only able to take with us a little more than the necessary cooking utensils, we had to leave most of our things in the log hut in order to proceed forthwith to our destination and rid ourselves of the burden of taking the heathen with us. Br. John Thomas was willing to remain in care of our baggage as we promised to come for him and our things with horses as soon as possible. We started, then, at noon, on our journey direct to Woapicamikunk, forty miles distant. Sr. Kluge rode a horse, Br. Luckenbach led a pack horse, and Br. Kluge drove the cows. Our greatest distress was that the Indian with the whisky would follow us again. We heard that he had intended following us, but he was prevented because one of his children had been bitten in the leg by a snake. This happened just on the day we started. Although we pitied the child who was not responsible for the behavior of its parents, yet we were very thankful, looking upon it as a special Providence in our favor. When it was time to encamp in the evening we had made 5 miles. When, with Br. Joshua, we had pitched our tent near a little creek and thought we might have a quiet night, to our sorrow we again saw both the heathen Indians, Sr. Mary's brother and Br. Jacob's son-in-law, come into camp before evening. They brought along a jug of whisky which they said they had taken with them as "Beson" or medicine. Br. Kluge spoke with them through Br. Joshua, asking them not to drink the whisky here as we could endure it no longer. They promised to keep quiet and not drink any more. Hardly was it dark, when we saw that they could not keep their word because they are perfect slaves to drink. They never stop as long as they have a drop, although when sober they scold about whisky and blame it for all their misfortunes. They are indeed slaves of sin and all wickedness. This we again experienced at night. For although they had promised not to drink the whisky they had brought along, yet they did. All night long they made a heathenish noise, and we were again forced to leave our tent and lie down under the open sky without fire, because of the terrible screaming of the heathen. Also the mosquitoes made sleep impossible. Old Br. Jacob also joined us in order to get away from the heathen. Oh! how glad we were when this dreadful night was over and it was again day, although we had not slept a wink. We started at once, as we felt like sheep among wolves. We cried to the Lord for new courage and strength to bear what the future may have in store for us.

20th. After we had gone fifteen miles today we encamped on a hill, at the foot of which a little creek flowed. This night we slept quietly again because there was no whisky in our neighborhood, for which we thanked the Saviour, and strengthened anew, we prepared for our final journey. While Br. Joshua and Michael were hunting the horses, Jacob started ahead of us. We and the two Indians hunted our horses all day, they were not found till 4 P. M. We then packed up and instead of reaching Woapicamikunk today, as we had intended, we advanced only four miles. At sunset, quite alone, we set up our tent in a bottom. Because we were very hungry, a young deer the size of a lamb, which Michael had caught while hunting the horses, was killed. Sr. Kluge boiled a good soup of it for us and the Indians Joshua and Michael. It tasted splendid.

21st. After 7 A. M. we left camp, and after wading up to our knees through a great swamp several miles long and wet to the skin from a shower, we arrived at 4 P. M. at the anxiously looked for Woapicamikunk. We found all the Indians just in the midst of a great dance in the village, during which they screamed wildly. This sight was not new to Br. Kluge but more so to Br. Luckenbach and Sr. Kluge. It filled our hearts with intense sadness, and we prayed to the Lord that here, also, He would in mercy destroy the works of the Devil. We passed the Indian town, encamping a mile below, where women who had been baptized a long time before, soon came to see us.

22d. Several heathen, some formerly baptized ones, and traders, also, visited us.[30] We spoke in friendly fashion with all and invited the heathen and old baptized Indians most heartily to come to us at our settlement, which lies twenty miles further down the river, and hear the Word of God. We said we had come with the Word of God, entirely out of love to them. We wished therefore that they would accept this saving word and become believers in Jesus who had died for us. They all promised to visit us and hear more of the Word of God. Some old baptized women promised soon to move to us. In the evening a somewhat drunken Indian from the Monsy nation came to us and said weeping to Br. Joshua that he wished to greet the teacher. Joshua brought him to Br. Kluge to whom he said: "I come to greet you, although I am somewhat drunk, and a stupid Monsy who knows nothing of God. I do not know what the great God intends with me. Perhaps I will be baptized some time." Br. Kluge replied through Br. Joshua: "God certainly has only good intentions for every human being. For out of love to man he has given his life and endured much suffering. He was nailed to the cross and poured out his blood so that we might obtain forgiveness for our sins and become happy. This loving God also wishes to save you and free you from all evil. You need only to give yourself to Him, etc. etc." To this he answered: "I am very glad to hear that I may also be saved. I will soon visit you."

Sunday, the 24th. With the help of a trader by the name of Fisher,[31] we borrowed a canoe from the Schawanoses. We put our few things into it. The old Indian Br. Jacob, with the help of an Indian boy, went with it to our location down the river. Br. Luckenbach, with the Indian Michael, rode back with five horses, hired from the Indians. A friend of John Thomas lent two horses to bring his things, himself and family, who had remained behind. At 9 o'clock A. M. Br. and Sr. Kluge started with the cows for the location decided upon for our settlement. Towards noon we arrived in Monsy town.[32] Because we had to cross the river here, an Indian woman with a canoe took us over, while our cows swam across. We went to an Indian house to rest a little and were kindly received by the Indians. After half an hour we started again. An old baptized Indian, Sr. Louisa,[33] accompanied us for some distance. As she spoke English fluently we were able to converse with her. At 3 P. M. we again came to an Indian town where the Delaware chiefs Tedpachsit and Hockingpomska live.[34] We were invited to the latter's house, where we were well entertained with food, according to Indian custom, by the chief's wife. She fried pancakes without eggs in bear's fat for us, and brewed quite a sweet sassafras tea. As we were very hungry it tasted very good. Jacob and

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[30] One of the traders was probably John Conner, who had lived as a child in the Moravian missions on the Muskingum. He had recently come to Indiana Territory from the Michigan country, and was living at Wapicomekoke. He and his brother William are the subjects of Charles N. Thompson's study, *Sons of the Wilderness* (Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, vol. 12). See also *post*, 194.

[31] On December 12, 1801, a license was issued to Frederick Fisher to trade with the Delawares at this town. He was also licensed to trade with the Shawnee at their "Old Town," which

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was probably at the site of Shawneetown, Illinois. Charles B. Lasselle, "The Old Indian Traders of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 2(1906):7.

[32] A town of the Munsee, a division of the Delawares who had moved westward with that tribe into the Indian country. Tetepachsit lived here. The town is within the limits of the present city of Muncie. The name is considered to be a corruption of the word *Minsi* ("People of the Stony Country"). Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 285. In Pennsylvania there are the famous Minsi Trail and the Minsi Mountain.

[33] A Christian Indian of this name joined the Moravian missionaries at New Salem in 1789, and remained until the mission was moved in 1791. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 2:67-68, 70, 97, 185, 209.

[34] This is an error of statement. See note 32 above and *post*, 611. For a map and discussion of the locations of the Indian towns, see also Thompson, *Sons of the Wilderness*, facing page 42, and 196 ff.

his wife, and Abigael with her daughter, had also come in. Towards evening Br. and Sr. Kluge went to the river, across a wide flat, where our canoe had arrived with our baggage. As no one was with us, we pitched our tent at the river and spent the night there. The Indian brethren slept in the Indian house. We reminded ourselves of the blessed Feast of Pentecost and in spirit united with the church, thanking the Holy Spirit for His watchful care over us. We besought Him for forgiveness for the times in which we did not heed His gentle voice and had grieved Him, promising Him renewed obedience, and sought His continued guidance. Thus we felt comforted and strengthened.

25th. After we had breakfasted we again started but we had barely gone a mile when it began to rain most dreadfully and we were wet to the skin. Besides, our way led through creeks and great swamps; at some places we had to wade knee deep. At last we reached a large plain over which a narrow footpath led us away from the main road direct to the river. After we had tramped these two miles we at last, to our great joy, arrived, wet through and through, at the location selected for our settlement. The text of this day was, "If thou wilt walk in my statutes and execute my judgments and keep all my commandments to walk therein; then will I perform my word with thee." I Kings 6:12. With a heart overflowing with thanks to our dear Saviour for all His goodness towards us on our long and fatiguing journey, we herewith greet all our brethren in the home churches and commend ourselves and our station to their prayerful remembrance before the Lord.

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FOR THE YEAR 1801

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER (THIS VILLAGE BEARS IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGE THE NAME OF WOAPIMINTSHI, WHICH MEANS CHESTNUT TREE IN ENGLISH), FROM MAY 25, TO AUGUST 31, 1801

MAY 25. Today, on the second day of Whitsuntide, Br. and Sr. Kluge, with the Indian members, Jacob with his wife Mary, Abigael, with her daughter and her two children arrived, full of thanks and praises to our dear Saviour, at the place designated for our settlement. The beautiful watchword for the day was: "If thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgments, and keep all my commandments to walk in them; then will I perform my word with thee." I Kings 6:12. In the evening we reminded ourselves of the blessed Whitsuntide, and thanked God, the worthy Holy Spirit, with bowed hearts, for His faithful care and labor with us poor children, and promised Him new obedience and faithfulness, and beseeched Him to be with us alway, so that all we do might be in accordance with the will of our Saviour. At the evening service we made reference to the holy Whitsuntide day.

26th. Joshua, the helper brother, also arrived. He was not satisfied with the place where we were encamped and which had been allotted to us by the chiefs. Since an Indian captain, with several families, was just visiting us, these offered to show us a number of other places which are also in this neighborhood. We all went therefore to view these places but found only one that was suitable for an Indian town. It was rather low but had fine land, and on the banks good springs; besides, at the side and opposite the place were two fine plains. This was preferred to the first one by the brethren present and chosen for our place and was immediately taken possession of. Today some of Jacob's friends visited us and brought him a pig for slaughter, as they thought he might be in need of meat. This pig was killed at once because all of us were really hungry and did not have a bit of meat.

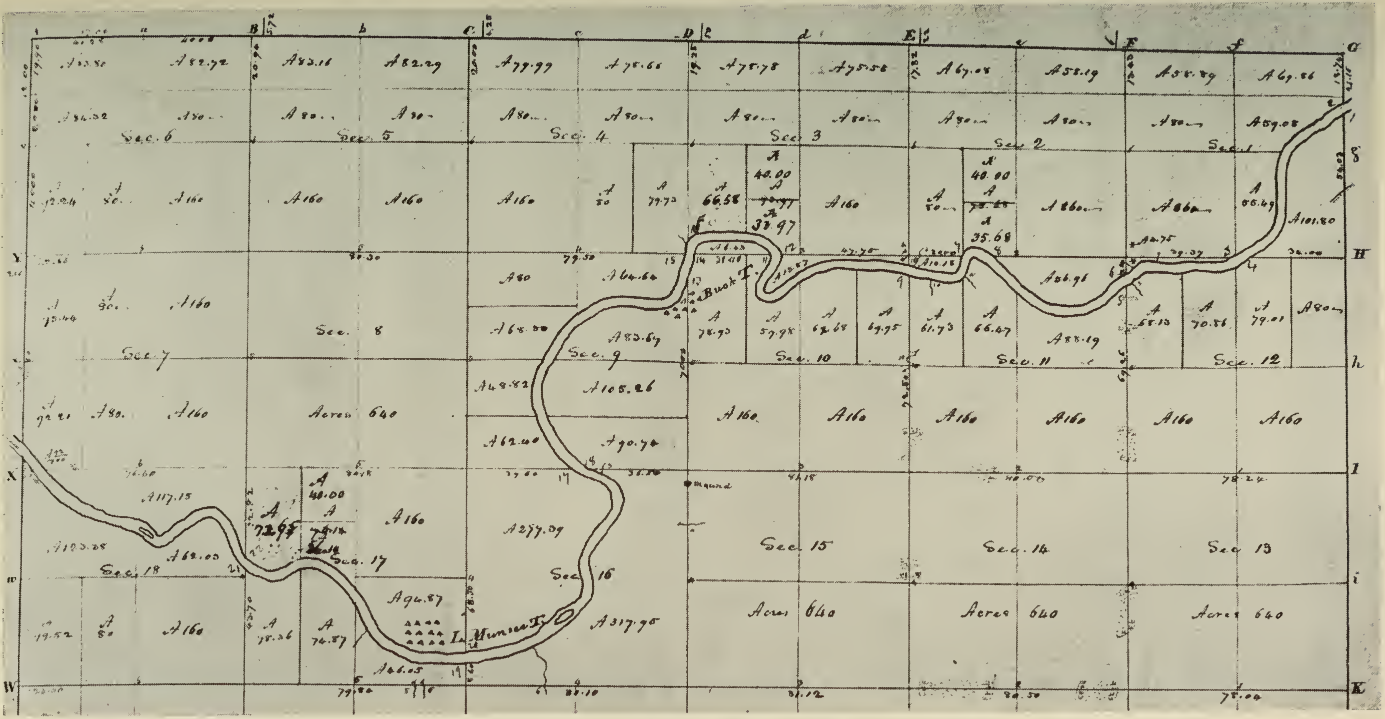
27th. Today and the following days we were all busy cutting the grass on the plain and with planting, which was hard work.

30th. Br. Luckenbach arrived in good health. He had gone back forty miles, with horses, to get our things and John Thomas, with his family. Now, at last, we were all together. John Thomas, however, was not satisfied with our location, because he alleged there was not as much wood here as they would need for building purposes. He wished us to return again to our first choice. We called our three Indian brethren together and begged them to come to an agreement in order that we might get settled. Now when the brethren, Joshua and Jacob, saw that John Thomas insisted upon returning to the first location, they agreed to it. We were thankful that at last they were of one mind, and permitted it to be done.

June 2. We returned to the first site and staked out the place for our village with the beautiful watchword: "God spake unto Jacob: I am the God of thy fathers, fear thou not, I will be with thee."

3d. Huts were put up in order to have a dry spot. This place where we live at present is on a high hill. In the front on the riverbank, the level space on the top is not extensive because on both sides there are little hills; at the rear, however, there is a wide plain thickly covered with oaks. On the other side of the river, right opposite to us, there is a plain, with high grass, which is our planting land at present. At the side of our place, at the foot of the hill, there is also a plain, overgrown with grass, like a meadow, which runs along the river for a mile. The White River, here where we live, is somewhat smaller than the Muskingum. Also, it has little current, but is rich in fish. Our houses will be pretty much exposed to the four winds. Down the river from our place there are seven Indian towns of different nations of which most, however, are after all Delawares. Up the river from our place are four Indian towns, also of different nations. There are therefore altogether eleven Indian towns, and these, according to Indian custom, are thickly populated so that there is no dearth of Indians in this neighborhood. Almost every day we have some visitors, they express themselves, every time, as pleased at our being here, and on our part we do not neglect an opportunity to present the Saviour to the heathen as the only way of salvation, and to invite them to hear the Word of God. They always promise to come and listen to the Word of God, so that we can therefore hope that after all some will come to hear the Word of God and turn to the Saviour.

3d and 4th. The following days both we and the Indians were busy planting. Although it is pretty late already, still we believe we can raise some corn; as this is the principal staple among the Indians. There is great need of corn at present among the heathen and our three families have none either, which will cause famine and bring us distress, too. We help them as best we can, but even it is not sufficient by any means, because a hundred pounds of flour costs $5.50 so that we must be very saving with it or we, ourselves, will also suffer famine because bread and milk are our only food. Sometimes we have fish, but almost no meat, because our Indian brethren do not go hunting. The heathen in this neighborhood charge $1. for a pint of bear's grease. It would not only be foolish to buy it at such a high price, but we could not do it either. It is remarkable that among these heathen money has almost no value, for they charge $1. for every little thing; that is the smallest amount among them presumably because they have to pay so high for everything to the traders. We have no vegetables yet, and do not know either whether we will get any, for it is too late to plant them. Besides it was very dry just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Sec. 17
Sec. 18
Buck T.
L. Munsee T.
mound
Acres 640

From a Survey of Town 19 North, Range 8 East, Made by B. Bentley, 1821
Little Munsee Town is on the Site of the Former Mission Town

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at that time, so that much of what we planted did not grow.[1]

5th. As all our Indian brethren were at home Br. Kluge spoke with them in couples. Br. Joshua translated. They all confessed themselves very sinful and unworthy, with which they had grieved the Saviour, yet they requested, with tears, permission to partake of the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion.

6th. Our six communicant members had a special service.

Sunday, the 7th. There was preaching in the morning which was attended by old baptized Anna Sophia and her husband, still a heathen. They remained here for several days. In the afternoon our little Indian congregation partook of a blessed love feast under the large, green oak trees. We white people contributed the tea and the flour for it, because our Indian brethren have nothing as yet. We reminded ourselves, in this connection, of the gracious assistance and protection of our Saviour on our long journey now ended. We thanked Him with heart and mouth and hands, encouraging each other to strict faithfulness toward the Saviour so that the object of our journey to this place might be fulfilled, and all of us shine as bright lights in this dark country so that many heathen may be converted to the Saviour. In the evening we enjoyed the happy privilege of partaking of the body and blood in the Holy Communion, with our six Indians, brethren and sisters. We felt the presence of our Saviour very strongly.

8th. In the evening we sang a thanksgiving liturgy.

9th. The following days Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach were busy chopping wood and splitting boards for our houses, which came very hard to us, as neither of us understands it nor is used to the work. The few old Indian brethren assist us little in outward matters, so that we often long for help with this work.

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[1] This last statement is manifestly an interpolation inserted by Kluge some time after the writing of the day's record.

13th. John Thomas started with his family down the river, in a canoe, 30 miles. He said he wished to look about for corn. Mary, Jacob's wife, returned from an Indian town, near by, where her friends live. She brought some corn and told Br. Kluge that the heathen had asked her when it was Sunday, because they wished to hear the Word of God.

Sunday, the 14th. Some 30 heathen, men, women, and children really appeared on horseback and on foot for the sermon and listened attentively. They all sat in a circle on logs. Br. Kluge prayed to the Saviour that not one might leave this place without a blessing, and that they might receive a lasting impression of Jesus' great love for man and be converted from darkness to Him. After the prayer, Br. Kluge spoke on the text: "God so loved the world &c." They all listened attentively. Br. Kluge, after the sermon, begged them to come often to hear God's Word. They promised to do so. Different ones among them shook hands with us and called us their friends. During the week, whenever the weather permitted, we had an evening service.

15th. and following days we were visited almost daily by heathen. An Indian captain also brought us two old and five young chickens for a small tin coffee pot. We were very glad to get them in this way.

Sunday, the 21st. Some Frenchmen from the nearest Indian town, who live there as traders, visited us. They voluntarily offered to help us for several days to cut wood for our houses. We also heard today that the three Delaware chiefs of the next Indian town 4 miles from here, had returned from the treaty at Post Vincent.[2]

22d. Hockingponska, one of them, rode past our huts. He was slightly intoxicated, for which he apologized and did not stay with us long. We white brethren were busy today hoeing our beans, which, in the fine weather we are now having, are growing nicely. In the afternoon, John Thomas returned with his family but brought no corn because, as they said, the heathen in the lower town have no more. We heard from them that they had met seven Indians, baptized long ago, and some of them said they would move to us as soon as their corn was ripe.

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[2] *Ante,* 88n.

23d. Two young baptized Indians, Paulus and Phillipus, visited us. We invited them to move to us and be anew converted to the Saviour. It is to be deplored that many baptized Indians who live in this neighborhood lead a dreadfully heathen life. Some are even worse than the heathen, as for example: a baptized man named Christian, while drunk, stabbed his own brother; others are quite steeped in drunkenness. The Indian Br. John Thomas today went in a canoe to Woapicamikunk for the things he had left there.

24th. We two brethren were busy today cutting grass so that we might have some hay for our cows this winter. We were very glad that we had bought a scythe on our way. There are plenty of meadows here, if only there were good mowers at hand. Meanwhile we do the best we can and help ourselves at a pinch. In the afternoon we two brethren dug up a piece of land with the hoe for cabbage, and towards evening Sr. Kluge set out 200 cabbage plants. We intend planting more in a few days. Perhaps we will after all have some vegetables by autumn.

25th. Two formerly baptized Indian women, Louisa and Anna Salome, visited us. They promised to move here in the fall. The old chief Hockingponska, with his wife, also visited us today. As it was just breakfast time Br. Kluge invited him into his hut to eat something, whereupon he asked Br. Jacob whether he might come to us as he had been somewhat drunk lately. He was ashamed of this because we had seen him. Jacob said he should come. Then he came, was quite friendly, gave us his hand when leaving, and called us his friends. We two brethren again made hay today.

27th. During the afternoon quite unexpectedly the two chiefs of the Delaware nation, Tedpachsit and Pakantshiles, arrived. They are both pretty old already but have quite a venerable appearance. Both wore broad blue belts, besides a silver ring-collar about their necks and carried a turkey wing in the hand to keep off the flies. We met them in a friendly manner and they did the same in return. As they wished to remain here for the night and we have no houses yet, a bed was prepared for them in the tent of Br. Jacob. After they were somewhat rested Br. Kluge took them both to supper, which they accepted with much pleasure; during supper they showed us all their important written documents and treaties with the white people, which they always carry with them wherever they go. They expressed their pleasure at our coming, for which, as they said, they thanked God, who had brought us to them. They also related to us that not long since a message from the English at the lake had come to them, saying that in August the chiefs of all the nations should gather at the lake, that a great man had arrived from England who called them his children and would like to know them all &c.[3] After the meal Br. Kluge addressed all present and Br. Joshua translated. He invited them all to listen to the saving Word of God and commended Jesus' love for sinners. They all listened attentively, especially old Capt. Pakantshiles, who took his long, drooping ear lobe into his mouth. N. B. They have their ear lobes split and ornament them with rings, to which they also attach a piece of lead, which draws the ear lobe down so far that they can easily put it into the mouth. Especially when the cut is torn, the half hangs down, like a long worm, on their shoulders, as was the case in this instance. After the service they shook hands and thanked us that they had heard something about God.

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[3] Harrison wrote the Secretary of War on July 15: "The British have been unremitted in their exertions to preserve their influence over the Indians resident within our Territory ever since the surrender of the Forts upon the Lake—& those exertions are still continued. . . . I have been lately informed that talks are now circulating amongst them, which are intended to lesten the small influence we have over the Indians." Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:27. See also *Michigan Historical Collections*, 15:8 ff. (Lansing, 1889).

Sunday, the 28th. They came again with the papers they had received from the white people and asked us to read the same and have them translated by Joshua, which was done, too. Br. Luckenbach read them and Joshua translated. When this had been accomplished, Br. Joshua handed them, in our name, a string of wampum, with the words: "You called us to come here with the Word of God, and we have accepted your invitation, too, and thank God that we have now arrived here safely and hope you will keep your promises viz: that no one will disturb us here, and that no whisky or drunken Indians shall come here. Also that you will not call us either to go to war with you or to make a treaty, but that we may live here quietly and preach the Word of God to you, and we wish you would hear and accept it." After this the chief passed the string of wampum around, that each one should look at it and touch it. Then the chief, Captain Pakantshiles replied: "You know the reason why we have called you, namely, because we want to hear the Word of God and because the Seven Nations have given us this entire river Woapicamikunk, on both sides of which we have enough land to keep us here together;[4] we wished to have you, too, with your teachers, to live among us. We rejoice and thank God that you came. No one shall disturb or hinder you. We will look out for that, as we promised. Neither will we prevent any of our people from hearing the Word of God, but will tell them that whoever wishes can come to you to hear the great word and move to you, and it will please us if very many move to you; we will always desire to live together in love and peace." Whereupon they took a friendly leave, and started for the next Indian town four miles away. In the afternoon some heathen from the lower towns visited us.

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[4] The Seven Nations here refers to the Miami Confederacy. For further information concerning the claim of the Delawares to this land, see Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties,* 2:71, 81; Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:77, 82-83; Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger,* 1:429.

29th. We hoed our corn, the Indian brethren did the same. But as it was planted late and there has been no rain for two weeks, it does not look very encouraging for our planting. Our cabbage was not planted till the end of June; although during the present dry spell we water frequently, nevertheless, it does not help much; so that we have little hope of having much this year. This is discouraging for us because, since we are here, we have nothing but expensive bread, a very little butter and milk. This is our daily food because we have had no vegetables yet. Although we sowed a great deal of lettuce but little came up, on account of the drought, and that which did come up was eaten by insects, so that we must let the desire for lettuce go for this year. Besides, but little can be bought in this neighborhood, and the least one can buy, if it is to be had at all, is dear beyond measure. For example, a quart of salt costs $1. Thus it is with everything, and we often are much worried how we will get along, for if one does not have any money in hand one can get nothing at all, as no one lends.

July 1. We had the unpleasant experience of having a drove of pigs get into our cornfield and eat off much.

2d. John Thomas, with his family and Abigael, returned home. They had helped some heathen hoe their corn and they received corn, of which they were in great need, in payment.

3d and 4th. Heathen passing through here again visited us. Among them was a widow who said she would also like to move to us but that she had heard we would receive no woman without a husband. We told her that anyone who would be willing to be converted and surrendered himself with the whole heart to God would be welcome. As we hold a service every evening during the week, these attended the same. We make use of every opportunity to speak to every heathen passing through here about Jesus' love for sinners, with the heartfelt wish and prayer to the Saviour that He may bless His word.

Sunday, the 5th. Br. Kluge preached in the morning and several heathen were also present. Br. Luckenbach kept the evening service.

7th. We stacked our hay and put up a little fence around it.

9th. Again three baptized women, with the baptized Indian Christian who had killed his own brother Jacob, together with three heathen, visited here and attended all the evening services which Br. Kluge kept. Afterwards Br. Kluge and Luckenbach spoke with the murderer and admonished him to seek refuge with the Saviour and to call upon Him for mercy and forgiveness for his sins. He seemed to think much about what was said to him and later expressed himself as very penitent to Br. Joshua. We also heard that Chief Tedpachsit had all his young people come together and he gave them a meal. While they were eating he stepped into their midst and addressed them as follows: "My children you see how old I am, how gray my hair is; I am still not on the right road as God desires it of us. We have also often admonished you not to drink, nor to commit any evil, but nothing came of it. We remained as we were. We chiefs have now discovered why you have not changed either, because we ourselves do not do what we tell you to do. I now, therefore, tell you that whoever of you who desires to become different, can go to the believers and hear the Word of God. I have already heard what they have to tell us of God and have found that they teach the truth. If therefore any of you wish to move to them, you can do so. But you must not stop by hearing the great word; you must not rest till you are as you should be. If that takes place you will then also know why you have heard the great word."

10th. Br. Luckenbach held a Passion liturgy, as usual every Friday evening.

11th. In the evening Br. Kluge made an address. Several visiting heathen attended and were very attentive. Before the service Br. Kluge felt somewhat feverish, and during the night the fever broke out fully.

Sunday, the 12th. Br. Kluge had another attack of fever and had to spend the whole day in bed. Today, again, there were many heathen visitors who attended the service held by Br. Luckenbach. In the afternoon it rained again for the first time in three weeks, for which we were all very thankful to the Saviour on account of our plantation. In the evening a Frenchman, living among the Indians like an Indian, whose wife is a baptized Indian woman named Martha, asked permission to live among us. Br. Kluge spoke with him, through Br. Joshua, and asked him what was really the reason for their wishing to live here. They replied that they would like to hear the Word of God and wished to be converted, because they were tired of the life among the heathen, and could not endure it any longer because they only heard and saw wickedness among the heathen, and that they had long since resolved to move to us in the autumn; that when they had been here lately, on a visit, and had attended services, they had heard that God received all sinners if they but came to Him; but that if one wanted to be saved and find the forgiveness of sins with God, one should not delay and think, "I will turn to God at such and such a time," because one does not know whether he will be alive at that time. As they too wished to be saved, they had thought it over and felt like moving at once to the congregation, while they were still alive, in order to ask God to accept them also as His children. Br. Kluge then told them about our rules, adding that whoever wished to live among us must live and obey these regulations of God. They should therefore consider whether these regulations of God pleased them or not, whereupon they both answered, "that is what we are looking for, to live decently and not like the heathen"; that they had thought it over before they came.

Hereupon they received permission to live here. This is the first couple to do so. May the Saviour grant to it His blessing and give many others this desire. This is our heartfelt wish and prayer to the Saviour.

13th. Our Indian brethren began cutting timber for our house, which makes a great deal of trouble because they are so few. The hut we live in at present is so wretched that when it rains hard, everything floats in it. It will do only when the sun shines but not when it rains. We white brethren are experiencing what it means to start a new settlement, without the necessary assistance. When we have worked hard all day and are tired and sweated, we have just time enough to put on dry clothes and keep the service. Thus it is every day, yet we do what we can, if only we may further the cause of the Saviour.

14th. Br. Kluge was better again; the medicine which he applied himself brought good results, so that the fever disappeared entirely, and he could do his work, for which we were very grateful to the Saviour. Jacob returned home from Woapicamikunk this evening, whither he had gone yesterday.

15th. We were grieved to hear that Joshua had fallen into his old sins in that he had secretly taken his son to a witch doctor in order to have him cured. This saddens us the more as he is our interpreter. Something like that becomes known among the heathen, which does much harm to God's cause. We spoke to him about it and he could not deny it. He regretted it, indeed, that he had acted so unfaithfully and was very penitent. God grant that he may anew seek and find mercy with the Saviour and become steadfast in his walk once more. We could do nothing else in the matter, after we had spoken thoroughly with him, than to suspend him, for the present, from the Communion. This, as it seemed, affected him deeply. Oh! how we wish that we knew the language ourselves so that we would not need an interpreter, for at a mission a translated address is not effective. This we recognize more and more, and even the Indians themselves do not like it. They prefer to have their teachers speak with them in their own language. They do not trust the interpreter and always believe that he does not interpret exactly what the teachers say. We are convinced that this is often the case, especially when the interpreter is not true to himself and the Saviour. For this reason we try hard to learn the language, but the many secular duties occupy most of our time because we have to do everything ourselves. How much there is to be done at a new settlement, everyone can well imagine.

16th. We spoke with our few communicants in preparation for the approaching Communion. Because of our distress in respect to Joshua, the old, baptized Louisa who is living with us at present and who speaks English well, was called upon. The members all expressed their satisfaction and were heartily pleased.

17th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy with our Indian brethren. There were some strangers present.

18th. The timber for Br. Kluge's house was finished and we were very glad, because we had to feed all the workmen and we have very little ourselves. When the logs will be put in place we do not know yet, as we are too few people for it. In the evening we celebrated the Holy Communion with our five members. The Saviour's presence was felt strongly and He comforted us in all things.

Sunday, the 19th. In the morning we had a thanksgiving liturgy, after which Br. Kluge preached the sermon at which there were many heathen present. In the evening we prayed the church liturgy in the Indian language with our brethren and sisters.

20th. The Frenchman and the Indian Sr. Mary who had lately moved here and the girl Juliana were attacked with fever. Br. Kluge immediately gave them some medicine. We think that the weather is the reason why fever is so prevalent. Some days it is very warm and then suddenly it becomes very cool, as has been the case here recently, and since then the fevers show themselves. John Thomas went down the river for 10 miles to fetch a canoe and returned with the same.

21st. At 6 o'clock P. M. Sr. Kluge was safely delivered of a healthy little son and he was baptized next day.

22d. In the evening Br. Kluge baptized his son in the death of Jesus, giving him the name of Charles Frederick. Sr. Kluge was quite well under the circumstances, which leads us to hope that she will soon be wholly restored, for which we are heartily grateful to the Saviour.

23d. John Thomas went to Chief Tedpachsit to work for corn and help build his house. Almost every day we have visits from heathen Indians. We make use of every opportunity to preach to them the saving Word of God. As we have no church yet, weather permitting, we hold services under the oak trees every day in the week and generally there are visiting Indians present.

Sunday, the 26th. Many heathen again came to the services which Br. Kluge held. The Indians were all decorated in the heathen way, with silver rings and bracelets, but listened very attentively. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

27th and 28th. Again many heathen visitors. We often regret that on account of our outward labors, since we must do almost everything ourselves, we have very little time left to learn the language, because from our few, old Indian brethren we get little help, which comes especially hard on us this year, as we are not at all used to the work of building houses.

29th. An Indian messenger arrived. He was sent here by the chief, with the message that the presents given by Congress to the Indian nations had arrived at Fort Wayne and would be distributed there in two weeks.[5]

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[5] These were apparently the annuities for 1800, which had been delayed. Secretary of War to Arthur St. Clair, April 25, 1800, in *Territorial Papers of the United States . . .*, edited by Clarence E.

As the chiefs consider the baptized Indians as part of them, they let them know this, that they are also to have their share of it and should go there at that time and, in common with them, get their part. Our Indian brethren told us this and seemed very anxious to fetch these presents from there, and begged our permission to do so. But, as we know how weak they are and that they cannot at all withstand the temptation of drinking whisky, especially in the company of heathen, we represented to them to what danger they would expose themselves and surely take harm to their souls, if they went there with the heathen. But, if they were dead set on having their share of the presents, they should ask the other Indians to bring it along; that they should go themselves, that we could not allow, for it was our duty to keep them from evil things and not give permission to do them. Furthermore, Br. Kluge asked them, "Did Br. David Zeisberger allow anything of this kind?" They said no, but that Br. Senseman,[6] in Fairfield, allowed it, and that "we know that our teachers have never been of one mind in regard to it." Br. Kluge replied: "We cannot allow you anything of the kind. Whoever is obedient to the Saviour will understand that we mean it for your good." They then seemed satisfied.

31st. When John Thomas returned from his work for Tedpachsit he said the Chief had remarked to him: "If I had a horse I would bring your share along but I

Carter (1934-, Washington, D. C.), 3:82; Moses Dawson, *Historical Narrative of the Civil and Military Services of Major General William H. Harrison* . . . (Cincinnati, 1824), 47; see also letter of St. Clair to Secretary of War, November 29, 1800, in English Collection, William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society.

[6] Gottlob Senseman joined the mission at Schönbrunn in 1780, returned to Bethlehem following the dispersion of the Christian Indians in 1781, and remained there until 1790, when he rejoined the mission at New Salem on the Pettquotting. Two years later he helped to found the Christian Indian village of Fairfield on the Thames. He died there early in 1800.

am as poor as you, and I will have to carry home, what I receive, on my back." Thus it is with the chiefs, they are almost poorer than many an Indian who calls them his king. Then our few Indians began again and asked permission to go to Fort Wayne, which is 100 miles from here, to get their presents with the heathen. We remained firm, however, and held to our former reply and will now see what the Indians will do.

August 1. Catherine, John Thomas' wife, was attacked with a very severe sluggish fever. It began with heavy vomiting and became more and more violent, so that we believed her at the point of death. Br. Kluge did his utmost to help her with medicine, or at least relieve her. Br. Kluge preached on the 2d and mentioned in it that all things should work for good to the children of God, even while suffering comes to us, and sickness; so the purpose is that we examine ourselves, to see how matters stand in regard to our love and obedience toward God; if our heart is only in communion with the Saviour or if it clings to other things of this world and if we give ear to the loving voice of the Holy Spirit, God will draw us nearer to Him through suffering. This is all love on the part of God and works for our good, whoever recognizes it, &c. Toward evening Sr. Catherine was very weak, and had Br. Kluge called to her side and when both Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach were with her, she desired that one should call Br. Joshua as interpreter, and confessed her deep regret that she had not spent all her well days in communion with the Saviour, and said: "You thought, perhaps, that all was well with me, when I was in health, because I was not guilty of gross sins, and I thought so myself often, but now I realize and feel how sinful and wicked I am. I only regarded the faults of others, and forgot myself, and had no enjoyment of the Saviour, and thereby also lost the grace and peace of God which I had at one time received from the Saviour. For many years I also went to Communion but had no good from it, and always remained unmoved in my heart, and was not obedient to the reminders of the Holy Spirit which I often experienced in my heart. Now I beg the Saviour and you for pardon that I have not spent my days better in the congregation," &c. Br. Kluge pointed her to the Saviour as the friend of poor sinners, and assured her that on our part we would gladly forgive her all; that she should only look to the Saviour and remember how graciously, for our need, He had bled to death on the cross, so that every sinner, and she, too, might find mercy with the Saviour. Whereupon, she quite contentedly said: "Yes; that is my only comfort, and that, too, I will do. Even now I feel quite easy."

3d. An Indian woman, with two children and a cow on which one child rode, came today. Also a little girl led a blind old woman by the hand. She had heard that here the Word of God was preached, and for this reason begged her friend to lead her here so that she might hear it, too. The other Indian woman said to Anna Salome: "I should also like to live here but I do not know what to say when I ask for permission." Anna Salome answered her: "You have a heart and know how you feel and why you wish to live here. This is all you need say and then it will be well."

4th. Anna Salome came to Br. Kluge and begged with tears in her eyes to be readmitted into the congregation and to have her six-months-old child baptized, and said that she could not endure it otherwise. As she had repeated her request several times and as we could see clearly from her whole behavior since she is with us that she is now in earnest to be in the congregation and to yield her heart to the Saviour, we could not refuse her any longer, pointed her to the Saviour as the friend of sinners, and promised, in view of her request, to think of her.

5th. The blind woman attended the service in the evening, which was held as usual. Sr. Catherine continues to be sick. Altogether the Indians are very sickly in this neighborhood. On the other hand, to our joy, Sr. Kluge and her little son are well, so that she can already attend to her household duties.

6th. In the evening, as customary on a Friday, we sang a translation of a Passion liturgy.

7th. We employed the lot for the first time in this place,[7] and that in connection with the afore-mentioned sister Anna Salome; whether the Saviour approved that the sister mentioned before should now be readmitted into the congregation, and the answer was: "Yes!" It was announced to Anna Salome that she should enjoy the privilege of being readmitted and also that she should have her child baptized. When she heard this she wept copious tears of joy and gratitude over the favor which she and her child were about to receive.

9th. In the morning at a meeting of the baptized, Anna Salome, the sister mentioned above, was readmitted. At 11 o'clock Br. Kluge preached, at which time some heathen were present. At the close of the sermon he baptized in Jesus' death the little six-months-old daughter of A. Salome with the name of Susanna. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

10th. During the afternoon we experienced a most providential escape. Behind Br. Kluge's hut there stood an old, rotten oak tree which the Indian brethren, when they built this miserable hut, did not wish to chop down, because they maintained that, even if it fell, it would not hit the hut, but that it would fall on the other side. Now it happened that just as we were about to eat dinner and all were in the hut, the tree fell all of a sudden, and half of the tree struck with one end against the hut, so that one side of it was entirely crushed in. All our household articles were thrown down, and what were not of tin were broken into small pieces. Br. Kluge's little son was sleeping on the side of the hut where the smashup took place. He was completely covered with bark and small pieces of wood which fell down. In our fright we did not know whither to run and imagined that the poor child was probably mortally injured. But when we lifted it out of the debris it continued to sleep quietly and was not hurt in the least. We marveled at God's great and most gracious protection and our hearts were full of praise and thanksgiving to our dear Saviour, who in this great danger so graciously protected us; for to all appearances we could easily have all lost our lives. Now we insisted that all the dead trees which stood near should be chopped down to avert still greater accident and danger. It is hard for us in this respect that we have no outward assistance, for if the few Indian brethren are to do something for us, something that they have usually done for their teachers, they make a thousand excuses and expect us to build our houses alone, cut down trees, and do everything which is for our comfort alone; although we are always on hand and help, they are continually expecting more of us. Even a hut for the meetings has not yet been built by them, to say nothing of houses for us. As we cannot do it without their assistance, we still have to live in the miserable hut where nearly everything becomes moldy and spoils.

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[7] As was mentioned in the Introduction, the Moravians from time to time resorted to the lot to arrive at important decisions, a method employed among the early Christians and also among the Israelites.

13th. We united in spirit with the congregation and read for ourselves the history of the Brethren, of the blessed experience of the brethren and sisters in Herrnhut on this day during the celebration of Holy Communion in Berthelsdorf, and desired for ourselves a similar blessing on this day.[8] This remembrance was blessed to our hearts.

14th and 15th. As is the case every day, we were busy with outside work. The fever sicknesses are somewhat less among the Indians so that we are all fairly well, except Sr. Catherine, who, although better, is not yet quite restored. Sr. Kluge has also recovered fully from her confinement, and she and her little son are quite well, so that, when it is necessary, she can already go with us into the cornfield and garden on the other side of the river.

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[8] This relates to the great pentecostal gathering of the Herrnhut Brethren at the church in Berthelsdorf on Count Zinzendorf's estate, August 13, 1727.

Sunday, the 16th. Some heathen from a distance attended the sermon, which was held at the usual time. The desire, among the heathen, to be saved is still very weak. Yet we will not lose courage; perhaps this awakening will after all come some day. In the meantime we will sow the seed in hope.

17th. Br. Luckenbach went to an Indian town near by where 4 Frenchmen live to ask them to help put up the logs for Br. Kluge's house, which they had promised to do long ago, and which they also now expressed their willingness to do. Br. Luckenbach found nearly all the Indians drunk there, which is usually the case in the Indian towns. There are always Indians who deal in whisky. They bring it in large quantities of 100 gallons or more, so that the Indians have an opportunity to drink up everything they have. Alas, in this state they remain insensible, so that the power of darkness holds sway over them. When one sees them in this condition one marvels at the way the Devil has them in his power. The traders never fetch and sell whisky because their lives are not safe during the unheard of drunkenness of the Indians. The Indians, however, as mentioned above, obtained this drink of misfortune.

18th. Some heathen Indian women visited us. Our Indian brethren are now busy putting up their log houses. Br. Joshua has his house nearly finished. It is 14 feet square. The others are far behind with theirs. Our vegetables, on the whole, are fine, so that we have beans and cucumbers in abundance at present. We are in need of meat only; some weeks we do not get to see any and have to live on vegetables and flour which is dear beyond measure, which is our daily nourishment.

19th. and the following days we had heavy thunderstorms with strong wind and rain nearly every day, so that we could do but little outside work.

21st. A Schawano Indian, on horseback from Fort Wayne, arrived here and went direct to Br. Kluge's hut. He spoke English fairly well and Br. Kluge told him that we had come here to acquaint with God, their Creator, the Indians of all nations, and to preach the Word of salvation and that we wished them also to accept it &c. Indian Br. Joshua also spoke with him in Indian and explained to him the kind of people we really are. When we talked to him of singing he answered: "I never sing, except when I have drunk much whisky." That was all he said of himself.

22d. One of the afore-mentioned Frenchmen came, and, with him and our Indian brethren, we began to put up the logs of Br. Kluge's house.

23d. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached and Br. Luckenbach conducted the evening meeting.

24th. It rained the whole day as also on the 25th.

26th. We two brethren and our few Indian brethren were again busy putting up logs. In the evening we communicants had a special service.

27th. We spoke with our members in preparation for the approaching communion. In talking about their hearts, few of them showed any desire to grow in grace and in knowledge of themselves and their Saviour. In general we wish them more life in God. An old blind Monsy woman, who has lately received permission to live here and is now with Jacob and Mary who care for her, as she is acquainted with them, also came. She said she was in doubt about herself. That she earnestly desired to repent and become like the children of God. "But I am blind, also very stupid, and do not know how I am to do it." Br. Kluge spoke through Br. Joshua with her, encouraged her and told her how Jesus loves poor sinners. That out of love He died for us and poured out His blood so that we could find forgiveness, through Him, for our sins. She thanked him for the words she heard. This blind woman will probably be the first one to repent.

28th. In the evening we white brethren had a conference and after due consideration, decided to ask the Saviour by means of the lot whether this old woman should be received as a candidate for baptism and the answer was "yes." We resolved to approach this old, blind woman and teach her the first principles of baptism so that she may not remain so ignorant of it.

29th. On this choir festival of the Single Brethren we remembered the beloved members of this group and wished Br. Luckenbach and all united with him much blessing out of the fullness of Jesus for their hearts on this day. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Saviour in Holy Communion in fellowship with our Indian brethren and sisters.

30th. We read the thanksgiving liturgy and afterwards Br. Kluge preached. This service was attended by several strange Indians. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the service.

31st. Both of us, assisted by three Indian brethren, were busy putting up the last two logs at Br. Kluge's house. Things go slowly; we are the first and last at work. We must board our few Indian brethren at the little work they do. They spend more time eating than working. Yet they only grumble that they have to help us at our houses. Our position is difficult enough without this and it thus becomes still more trying. We herewith greet all our dear brethren in the home congregation and commend ourselves and our charge to their prayers and remembrance before the Lord.

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FROM THE FIRST OF SEPTEMBER TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1801

September 1. Br. Kluge as well as Br. Luckenbach had the fever again, which is the second time since our coming here. It is becoming serious, in that Br. Kluge has it quite violently every day and Br. Luckenbach every other day, in spite of the fact that we have work to do.

3d. The Indian Michael who accompanied us from Goshen to paddle our canoe and who since that time has lived the life of a heathen among the Indians, came and told us that he now wanted to return to Goshen, Ska, the other dissolute Indian, joining him. The latter also helped us on our journey from Goshen, but he brought us nothing but disgrace on the way here and while in this place. We are only too glad to get rid of these fellows again. We sent letters with them to Goshen as well as to the dear brethren in Bethlehem. It is very difficult to write because we have the fever just now. Nevertheless, we are all the more anxious that these letters should be sent so that our brethren may find out how straitened our circumstances are. The Indians named left with the letters on the 5th.

6th. The day was spent in the usual way.

7th. We celebrated the Married People's Covenant Festival with our few Indian brethren and sisters after the usual manner. The other Christian Indians attended the love feast as guests, because they do not belong to this choir. Br. Luckenbach accompanied the singing of the love feast on the violin. Everything passed off quite pleasantly today.[9] On the days following, however, we had the fever again. The Indian brethren and sisters as well as we were sick, so that it was a sad time for us.[10] What made conditions worse was the fact that Sr. Kluge, who had hitherto been free from the fever, now became sick, too, and that so severely that she could not leave her bed much. Br. Kluge suffered a daily attack and became so weak as a result that he could hardly do anything. At last the dear Saviour came to our assistance. The fever left Br. Luckenbach, so after all one of us can be active, though it is hard on him because he is still very weak. You, dear brethren, can readily imagine how matters must have been with us in this neighborhood, where one cannot get the least assistance or even a few comforts, when all were sick and weak. We frequently sighed to the Saviour in our distress and He comforted our hearts. In this manner the whole month was passed.

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[9] The shorter Diary states that "every one was very happy."

[10] The shorter Diary says at this point: "To live in a neighborhood where no medical assistance of any kind can be obtained while everyone is lying sick, is certainly a terrible ordeal."

30th. Br. Kluge, being still sick, put two plasters on his legs with the hope that he might get rid of the almost unendurable headache. This helped.

October 5. At last Br. Kluge was well again but very weak. We had nothing to strengthen us. At the same time we had our hands full of work. The Christian Indians are sick and Br. and Sr. Kluge's house is not half finished. Br. Joshua is well enough but he has no desire to work by himself. Besides he has a sick son to look after. There is nothing but distress at present. For a whole month we had no meat, not enough even to make a little soup. Fortunately a heathen friend of Br. Jacob shot a deer and distributed the meat among the inhabitants here, of which we too got our share, for which we were glad and grateful.

6th. and following days Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach were busy laying the floor in Br. and Sr. Kluge's house.

8th. In the evening was held the service preparatory to the approaching Holy Communion.

9th. We spoke with our few Indian brethren and sisters at which time they expressed themselves desirous for the Saviour and His grace. Today too we harvested our corn, which has yielded well, but there is not much of it, because the time for planting was too short after our coming here. Our Indian Christians who, with the exception of old Jacob, have again recovered from the fever, are also busy with their corn harvest, but unfortunately they do not get much because they could not plant much. Much of what they have is not really hard enough to harvest, but because we have no fences we have to garner it on account of the many horses of the Indians and traders, which trouble us incessantly and eat off the corn. In addition to this there has been such heavy frost the last few nights that all the garden vegetables froze and turned yellow.

10th. We enjoyed with our Indian brethren and sisters the body and blood of the Lord and Saviour in the Holy Communion, to the quickening of our poor hearts.

11th. A few strangers attended the sermon which Br. Kluge preached. In company with an Indian, old Chief Tedpachsit came here in the afternoon. He had received a letter from Fort Wayne which he wanted read and translated, because he believed that if done by us it would be done the most honestly. Br. Luckenbach read them the letter and Br. Joshua translated it into Indian. The contents of the same were to the effect that the chiefs were invited to the Congress in Philadelphia the following month, to which place they expected to journey next month (November).[11] They remained with us overnight.

12th. In the morning Br. Kluge spoke with the Chief through Joshua and told him that he should on this occasion visit our brethren in Bethlehem, who would be glad to see him, which he also promised to do. In the afternoon they returned home. They live but ten miles from us.

13th. and following days we white people were busily engaged in harvesting our garden vegetables. Though we had planted late and little, everything yielded bountifully to our great joy, so that we had over six bushels of nice potatoes and nearly as many white turnips. We also had over a hundred head of cabbages, of which we could make a fine little barrel of sauerkraut. We also had very many cucumbers, of which we likewise pickled two little barrels. We also got some turnips, kohlrabi, and beets. There were also a great many beans, so that we are well provided with vegetables for the winter, for which we render our heartiest thanks to the Heavenly Father. The meetings were held as usual during the week.

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[11] The Indians went to Washington accompanied by Captain William Wells, Indian agent at Fort Wayne. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:37-38; Bert J. Griswold (ed.), *Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, 1802-1813 . . . (Indiana Historical Collections*, vol. 15, Indianapolis, 1927), 19. The offices of the federal government were transferred from Philadelphia to Washington in the summer of 1800.

26th. and on the following days we two brethren were busily engaged with work on our winter house, which was finally under roof. There still remains a great deal of work to be done on it, all of which we have to do ourselves, because our Indian brethren, for their part, are still far behind with their own houses, wherefore we have to work hard every day, in spite of the fact that Br. Kluge still suffers from the fever, so that we shall have at least one house finished to protect us against the cold, for we cannot endure it any longer in our open summer huts.

31st. Our house was at last so far along that we could move into it, although it is not plastered as yet on the outside. We thanked our dear Saviour that, after much labor, we had at least a little house for the winter.

November 1. The preaching service was held in our hut, which is now empty. Where the meetings will be held this winter we do not know yet, since no plans have been made as yet for a meeting hut and we must have our hut for a cow stable for the winter, because as it appears it is as cold here as it is in Goshen, in that there is ice every night already, and that even on running water. Our river has been wholly covered with ice already.

2d. Our Indian Br. Jacob's son-in-law, who is a heathen, arrived here with his family and encamped near our place. They also brought in a canoe Jacob's second daughter, who is a widow and very sick with dropsy.[12] This sick person soon sent word to us and begged us to receive her in her father's house in our village, for she would not live much longer and would like to learn to know God her Creator, so that she might pass from this world in a saved state, for which reason, too, she had had herself brought here in a canoe, and would lie near our place until we would receive her, etc., etc. Taking the Indian Br. Joshua with him, Br. Kluge went to her and talked with her about the love of Jesus for sinners; how happy the dear Saviour was to help and to receive one who longed for mercy and the forgiveness of sin, and that He also had shed His blood for her and had given His life so that she too might be saved, asking if she believed these things from the heart, etc. "Yes," said she, "that is what I desire; for that reason I had myself brought here. This summer while I was still in health I heard the good word often when I visited you. I thought a great deal over the matter, and was also ready to move to you when all of a sudden I became so sick that it was impossible to do so. I would, however, very much like to pass my last days in your midst and die here," etc. She was very miserable and greatly emaciated. Our Indian members thereupon carried her into our village and to the hut which had been prepared for her, and for which she was very grateful. Our Indian members visited her faithfully and talked to her about the Saviour.

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[12] The shorter Diary says, "She is a young widow and is a consumptive."

9th. She begged very touchingly for baptism in the words: "I am now content in my sickness and believe that the Saviour died also for my sins, and that I, too, may be saved through His death. I will not live longer than a few days and very much desire to be washed in Jesus' blood and be by you baptized," etc. It was touching to see with what joy she answered the questions of faith which were put to her. 10th, after an earnest prayer by Br. Kluge, in the presence of the Indian members, she was baptized in Jesus' death and received the name Magdalena. All present shed tears, and the presence of the Saviour was strongly felt while the rite was administered. She was very grateful for the favor granted her and lay quite still the whole day.

11th. In the evening it was evident that her end was not far off, whereupon the Indian brethren and sisters gathered about the bed of sickness and sang a number of parting hymns, and at ten o'clock Br. Kluge was called as she was dying, whereupon he, too, sang a few hymn verses and gave her the blessing of the Lord for her death, when she peacefully and blessedly fell asleep, aged about 30 years. This woman was the first adult who was here baptized, we therefore beg our dear brethren in the congregations to pray to the Saviour that many more may attain to this state of grace.

13th. The body of the deceased Sr. Magdalena who passed away on the 11th was interred after the usual manner. A number of heathen were present at the ceremony.

There must be mentioned yet that Br. Luckenbach went to Cincinnati on the 6th in order to draw money from Mr. Ziegler for our necessary subsistence, wherefore we wish him the presence and protection of our Saviour.

14th. It rained here all day, as also on the 15th. Nevertheless, it was possible to have the preaching service, but in the evening no meeting could be held.

16th. Sr. Mary went to Woapicamikunk to visit her sick brother.

17th. Br. Luckenbach returned from Cincinnati safe and sound. We thanked the Saviour that all for which this journey had been undertaken (namely, to get some money from Mr. Ziegler in Cincinnati, for our necessary subsistence) had been successfully accomplished. He also brought with him the long-desired letters from the dear Brethren Van Vleck and Schaaf in Bethlehem. Though some of them were written in the month of May they nonetheless gave us great joy, as we saw most clearly in these the love and interest of the dear brethren of the General Helpers' Conference as well as of all our dear brethren. We only wish we had more opportunity to go to Cincinnati in order to correspond more frequently with them (but the trouble is that there is so little opportunity to send any message to that place); although the traders from Woapicamikunk travel to Fort Hamilton, we do not learn of it for the most part, and when we do find out, we have no one who will take our letters that far without pay, because it is more than twenty miles from here to Woapicamikunk. If we had a horse we could then make the most of every opportunity we learn of and take the letters to the traders ourselves, and also make frequent visitations among the Indians, which would surely do a great deal of good. Without a horse one cannot go anywhere, because no matter where one wants to go here, one has to cross creeks over which one cannot pass very well without a horse.

19th. In the evening the communicants had a meeting.

20th. The communicants were addressed in preparation for the coming Communion. Br. and Sr. Jacob's testimony was especially a joy to us. For example, Br. Jacob said: "I see and experience ever more that all else is as nothing when compared with that which I enjoy with the Saviour. If I am in communion with Him, then I have enough of everything and I feel happy at heart, therefore I pray that He may ever keep me very close to Him and set me wholly free from all other things, so that I may spend my time alone with Him," etc. Some of our other Indian brethren we have to bear with a great deal of patience, which we must daily seek from the Saviour.

21st. We enjoyed the body and blood of our Saviour in the Holy Communion to the quickening of our poor hearts. Five of the Indian Christians partook. The Saviour was very near to us.

22d. After the thanksgiving liturgy Br. Kluge preached the sermon. Br. Luckenbach conducted the evening meeting.

24th. We butchered our first hog which we bought for three dollars from an Indian three weeks ago and had fed with corn since that time. It weighed 130 pounds. We were heartily grateful for it, because we now after all have some meat in the house. For four weeks we have not had a bit of meat in the house, because our old brethren cannot hunt, and John Thomas seldom goes, being often indisposed.

25th. A young Indian with his wife came to visit us. He spoke pretty good English, so we talked with him for a long time. In the evening he came to Br. Kluge and announced that he and his wife would like to live here, hear the Word of God and be converted. They said they were tired of living among the heathen because when the Indians were drunk they shot their cattle, and naturally they did not like anything of that sort. We talked with him concerning the love of Jesus for sinners and told him that if it was his intention to separate himself from the wicked practices of the Indians and to turn to God and be obedient to Him, then he would be welcome to us, since it was for that purpose we came here, to show them the way to salvation and to acquaint them with their Creator. Thereupon he promised to come again after 28 days and bring his answer whether he would move here. The Saviour grant that this family and many more from among the heathen may be led to move to us. We frequently hear that heathen want to move to us, but it seems as if they were at strife among themselves as to whether they want to be converted or not. The Great Enemy is also very busy in confusing the minds of the poor heathen and in arousing among them all sorts of distrust against the Brethren. For example, we often hear that many of the heathen say that the Brethren merely sought to make the Indians tame, so as to have them then killed by the white people, as had been done in Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, etc. This is still fresh in their memory. Meanwhile we have good courage and the faithful hope that in the end the Great Enemy, together with all his instruments, cannot avail against the work of the Saviour.

29th. First Sunday in Advent; we held the service in Br. Joshua's house, as also all the subsequent evening meetings, because we have no meeting place as yet. In these days we reminded ourselves, to the true blessing of our hearts, of the coming of our Saviour in the flesh, and besought Him to make of the happy Advent season a time of joy for us, and to help us to spend it with praise and thanksgiving for His great love to us needy ones so that we may properly appreciate the salvation that has come to us thereby. We closed at this time the Church year now ended, with grateful hearts toward our dear Saviour, and for His gracious revelation to us needy ones in our work of spreading the gospel, we thanked Him.

December 1. Br. Jacob accompanied his heathen son-in-law to the chase. On the following days Indian Sr. Mary with her daughter also went to the hunting grounds to bring home the meat. They brought back as much as they could manage to carry, of which we also received a piece of bear meat, which was the first for a long time. In this community there are unusually large numbers of bear and deer, so that many a heathen shoots as high as ten and even more bear in one day. Frequently he takes merely the skin and leaves the meat and fat in the woods. Since they roam about far and wide it is impossible to fetch the meat and fat. We hope, however, that when more heathen Indians move to us we will have no lack of meat. Our two old Indian brethren Jacob and Joshua can no longer hunt, and John Thomas frequently has rheumatism in his limbs, so that he, too, cannot go to the chase. Old Br. Jacob, as mentioned above, went with his son-in-law to the chase, but as he himself said, "not to hunt but to eat his fill of meat."

We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, were still busy every day providing shelter from the cold for our hens and cows. Thus far we have had little cold weather. Up to the middle of December we have not had an inch of snow. Though it freezes during the night, it usually thaws during the day.

11th. Anna Salome (one of those baptized by the Brethren on the Muskingum who has lived among the heathen for many years) and her two granddaughters came here on a visit. She said that she had come to spend the holidays with us so that she might hear the Word of God; that in spring she would move here. She also mentioned two old baptized women, Louisa and Caritas, who had expressed their desire to move here so that they might pass their last days in the congregation.

12th. On this and following days Br. Kluge suffered a great deal from toothache and neuralgia. His little son was afflicted with a terrible skin eruption on the head. This is not quite healed yet. Otherwise we are well. We heard that the smallpox had broken out among the Kickapoo Indians. We hope it will not reach the Delawares.

18th. We heard that one troop of Indians after the other was coming to this river from faraway places, so that eventually all the Indians would live here. The chiefs sent messengers to the Indians everywhere inviting them to come here so that they might settle in the Indian land on this river and be far away from the white people.

19th. Our oft-mentioned blind old Monsey woman came to Br. Kluge and expressed herself very nicely. She said, "Since I have heard the great Word of God, I feel myself very sinful and poor, and I know that I can alone through Jesus' blood be saved and become good. My one desire now is to have my sins all washed away through the blood of Jesus. If I can attain to that grace, I will remain with the church as long as I live," etc.

20th. In the afternoon we presented her case to the dear Saviour and by means of the lot we received His approval of having her baptized Christmas Day. We were very happy over the gracious revelation of the dear Saviour to our poor hearts. When we told her that she might be baptized she did not know what to say for joy and thanked us again and again. We told her she could express her thanks to the Lord, for it was He who granted her this grace.

21st. On this and following days many heathen came here to visit or as they said, to spend the holidays here with us. Most of these visitors were women and children, most of the men being off on the chase. Indian Br. Jacob and his son-in-law returned home from hunting. They were unsuccessful in that they shot but three deer in three weeks' time.

24th. Everybody got ready for the Christmas celebration, and in the evening at 7 o'clock we had our love feast. Counting the members of the congregation and the visitors present, there were 56 persons in attendance. Not having a church, we met in Indian Br. Joshua's house, which was full to overflowing. At the love feast, Br. Kluge read the story of the Saviour's birth, which Indian Br. Joshua translated into Indian. All present were attentive listeners. There was a feeling of joy throughout the whole service which was increased when the little wax tapers were distributed among the children. Not having a sufficient quantity of wax we could make but twenty tapers. These were all distributed, the heathen children receiving them too. The children were greatly delighted over the little lights. After the service the children, with lighted tapers in their hands, led the way home through the darkness. It was a pretty sight. The beautiful weather increased greatly the happiness of the evening. There was no snow and it was as warm as in spring. Thus ended this day so happy for us and the Indian brethren and sisters.

25th. Christmas Day. Preaching service at the usual time. All visiting friends were again present. Br. Kluge baptized the blind Monsey woman with the name of Lydia. God was very near unto us and even the Indian friends present were moved to tears. The Saviour grant that many of those present may have carried away a deep impression that they may be converted to God their Creator and thus become a reward for His sufferings. Our blind Lydia said after her baptism, "As I feel at present, I never felt in all my life. I feel as happy as if

I had enough of everything." In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting. Our Indian brethren and sisters being accustomed to celebrate only first Christmas, everybody was at work on the 26th. Our Indian brethren today made a beginning with the building of a hut which is to be used as a church for a while and later on as a schoolhouse. The building will be 15 feet square[13] and covered with shingles. We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, cleaned up the space back of our house. There was a good deal of wood lying around. Here we intend to have a garden in the spring. We also built a hog pen, so that we will not have to buy all our meat as we had to do thus far. Our few Indian brethren cannot do much at hunting and also have a scarcity of meat. Even though our congregation will increase and good hunters will be added to it, the Indians usually go pretty far into the woods in fall so that they cannot bring the meat home while fresh unless they have horses. To prevent this meat famine, we consider it best in every way to procure hogs, of which one can get enough around here. To this end we have already bought a large sow for 3 dollars.

27th. The day was passed in the usual way.

28th. We spoke with our brethren and sisters in preparation for the Holy Communion which we intend to celebrate on the 2d of January, 1802. Their testimony was on the whole quite encouraging.[14]

30th. We spoke not only to the communicants but to all those who live here in preparation for the close of the year. All were urged at the transition from the old to the new year to be sure to surrender themselves wholly to the Saviour and to promise Him obedience so that all might grow in grace and enjoy the salvation which the Saviour grants to all who seek it. They promised to do so, some of them shedding tears.

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[13] The statement is inserted in the shorter Diary at this point, "and built of saplings."

[14] The shorter Diary gives no entry for the 28th, but for the 29th the following is recorded: "We spoke with the communicants and the others were begged to give themselves entirely to the Lord at the beginning of the New Year. They promised to do so, shedding many tears."

31st. This afternoon all the Indians were busy crushing corn for the love feast. At 11 o'clock at night, our little congregation came together for the love feast and the vigils. At the beginning of the love feast, Br. Kluge addressed himself to the Indian members and reminded them of the many blessings of God which we enjoyed in the passing year. He urged them to thank and praise Him as the Giver of every good and perfect gift. We then had the love feast. In this service, the few events that transpired in our little congregation during the year were reviewed. This was followed by a prayer, all kneeling. At this love feast, as well as at that on Christmas Eve, Br. Luckenbach accompanied the singing on the violin. The Indians are very fond of that. When at the close of this year, which was a hard one in every respect, we recall how graciously the Heavenly Father cared for us and helped us through all our difficulties, and blessed us beyond all expectation, we stand before Him as poor, unworthy servants and find enough cause to beg Him for forgiveness that we were often so full of doubt and lacking in faith, and not always sufficiently grateful for His favor shown us, and that we often grieved His heart. With this conviction in our hearts, we stand before Him and pray, "Here we poor sinners stand. We know that we deserve Thy wrath. But in mercy graciously look down upon us and lead us also with patience during the next year, as Thou hast so faithfully done in the past." We gave ourselves anew into His hands to do with us as it pleases Him, to take from us what grieves Him, and we promised Him new obedience. Although the diary records the events of the congregation in full, we want here to put down in addition certain occurrences which especially inspire our praise and thanksgiving to our dear Saviour.

(1) Our difficult journey from the Muskingum to the White River lasted 9 weeks. In every way the dear Saviour preserved us graciously from accident on land and water, and we arrived here safely and in good health.

(2) Although we suffered from want of food when we first came to this place, the Lord made fatherly provision for the needs of us all, so that we did not have to suffer from hunger, each one having all that was needed for sustenance.

(3) During the felling of the trees and the building of the houses the dear Saviour and His Angels graciously protected us, so that no one suffered injury while engaged in the dangerous work. The dear Saviour strengthened us for the heavy labors to which few of us were accustomed so that our building operations were over before winter set in.

(4) We are especially grateful for the great protection which the Saviour provided us white people and the little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge. Just as we were eating our dinner an old oak tree back of Br. and Sr. Kluge's house fell down and struck a corner of the hut. One side of the house was torn apart and all our fragile articles were broken. The little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge who was asleep at the time was covered with small pieces of wood. If the tree in falling had not struck another which turned it aside, a part of the tree would have fallen on our hut and all of us would have been killed, had the Saviour not protected us, for all of us were in the hut at the time. After the great fear was over, we could not thank the Saviour enough for His protection.

(5) In the fall all suffered from fever, one more, another less. This hindered us in our outside work. But in this respect, too, the dear Saviour helped us as the physician of body and soul, so that one after the other recovered, and we could garner the fruits of field and garden with thanksgiving and praise to Him who gave us an abundant harvest.

(6) The preaching of the gospel was attended by many heathen and our dear Saviour blessed the word of His suffering and death which we, His poor servants, proclaimed in His Name, so that it proved itself in some hearts a power of God and 4 persons from among the heathen moved to us. Among these was a married couple of which the wife had been baptized with the name of Martha by the Brethren on the Muskingum. The other two were widows. One of these is blind and belongs to the Monsy nation. The other widow is the daughter of old Br. Jacob. During the past year both were baptized into Jesus' death, the blind woman receiving the name of Lydia, and Jacob's daughter being named Magdalena. The last-named passed away the day after her baptism as may be seen in the diary.

From the heathen a married couple and two widows moved to us	4 persons
Adult baptisms	2
Born, a little son to Br. and Sr. Kluge	1

There were two baptisms, namely that of the little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge and the 6 months' old daughter of Sr. Anna Salome, the first one receiving the name of Carl Friedrich, the latter the name of Susan.

Anna Salome was readmitted to the congregation. Br. Joshua and Sr. Abigail were joined in marriage. At the close of the year our congregation consists of 4 married couples or 8 persons; 2 widows, and 1 single brother; total, 11 persons. Six of these are communicants. There are 6 children: 4 girls and 1 boy, not counting Br. and Sr. Kluge's little son. Total, 11 adults and 5 children.

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FOR THE YEAR 1802

FIRST QUARTER

JANUARY 1. In the morning at the usual time, preaching service, which many visiting heathen attended. In the evening, Br. Luckenbach held a meeting.

2d. Our Indian brethren related to us that a visiting Indian woman from among the heathen had said, after she had been present at and had seen the baptism on Christmas Day and that the candidate for baptism worshiped as usual: "The people are not in their right senses; they throw themselves on the ground, which is something that I will not do, because I do not want to become so foolish," etc. Another heathen woman answered her: "If it does not suit you why then do you continue to come here. I will never join the baptized because we cannot understand anyway what they do," etc.

In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion together with three Indian brethren and three Indian sisters, to the encouragement of our poor hearts.

3d. After the thanksgiving liturgy we had the sermon, and in the evening a meeting.

4th. and on the following days the visiting heathen returned home again and promised to visit us soon again. The Lord grant that after all some of them may be converted!

6th. This being Epiphany we had morning prayer with those present, and a preaching service after that. In the afternoon a love feast, and in the evening a song service. In all these meetings the Spirit of God worked in the hearts of the Indian brethren and sisters as well as in those of some visiting heathen, for they were all very peaceful and happy. In the evening the Frenchman who lives here, and his Indian wife Martha, came in tears to Br. Kluge, and upon being asked what the matter was, he said: "Oh, I feel as if a heavy burden was resting upon me, and this is due to my sins. I would so like to be rid of them and find forgiveness." This confession was accompanied by extraordinary weeping. Br. Kluge pointed him to the Saviour as the friend of poor sinners, and assured him that one could find with Him alone peace of heart and conscience, and that if he would seek with his whole heart the forgiveness of his sins at the hands of our Saviour and pray to this end, he would experience the same in his heart, etc.

8th. Several sisters quarreled among themselves, for which reason Sr. Catherina came to Br. Kluge and complained about the others, and desired that the others should be called, which also took place. After they had talked the matter over with one another, Br. Kluge in a loving and yet firm way reproached them for their incessant squabbling, and told them what a disgrace it was and how they grieved the Saviour when they lived together in discord: that they had great reason to beg the Saviour for forgiveness, whereupon the three of them wept and fell on each other's neck and asked one another for forgiveness. This is a frequent occurrence among the women because they have an extraordinary tendency to gossip about one another and feel offended upon the slightest provocation, which is largely due to their idleness, because they are constantly visiting back and forth and gossiping about one another. Today old Anna Salome returned to her old home again to boil sugar there, as she said, because she is already fitted up for the purpose at that place. She promised to move here entirely in the spring and do her planting here, and she begged that meanwhile we should not forget her.

9th. In the evening we had a heavy thunderstorm, with rain and wind. Toward morning it snowed and froze hard.

10th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time. In the afternoon we held a little love feast with our helper brethren and sisters, on which occasion we spoke to them concerning their commission and service for the Saviour and admonished them to greater faithfulness. They pledged their willingness to do all in their power for the work of the Saviour, whereupon we covenanted with them anew to live for our Saviour alone, and to advance His cause with all our might, for which purpose we would beg of Him the necessary grace and strength, so that all might be done, that was to be accomplished, in His name. In the evening, Br. Luckenbach held the meeting.

11th. Br. Luckenbach went to the neighboring town to the trader living there to see if he could borrow a horse to drag together the logs for his house. Because of a light snowfall our Indian brethren went hunting.

12th. We two white brethren dragged together the logs for Br. Luckenbach's house.

14th. There came here a young Delaware Indian whose parents were in former times baptized by the Brethren but who drifted to the heathen at the time of the dispersion and had again embraced heathenism. This man visited Br. Kluge and told him that he would like to move to us; that he had wanted to visit us immediately after our arrival, but that he had become sick on the way and for that reason could not at that time carry out his intention. Br. Kluge told him of the love of Jesus and begged him to accept the Word of God to the salvation of his soul, and to become obedient to the Saviour. He promised to do so. In answer to the question whether the heathen were not talking among themselves of a desire to hear the Word of God and to become obedient to the Saviour, he said: "Oh, yes, they frequently talk of it and have a desire to move to the believers, but a woman who was baptized by the Brethren on the Muskingum is constantly telling them that the Brethren merely wanted to make the Indians tame, so that the white people might kill them as had been done in Gnadenhütten, and that has been keeping them back thus far." In the evening we had a meeting as usual.

15th. A number of the Indian brethren went to the near-by Indian town to get corn, and returned home on the 16th.

17th. The day was passed as usual.

18th. Our Indian brethren and sisters for the last few days have gone to their sugar camps, where they made the necessary preparations for sugar boiling. They come home every evening until the sugar boiling begins. The weather this month is as nice again as in spring, except that it freezes somewhat during the night, which is a good thing for sugar boiling.

19th. Today a trader who has already lived among the Indians in this neighborhood for a number of years came and begged, as he had done a number of times before, for permission to live here. He told us that it was unbearable to live any longer in the heathen towns and consequently he was looking for a place where he might live undisturbed among Christian Indians. When we told him that our village was only for such Indians as desired to be converted and that it would be hard for him to adapt himself to our rules and regulations, which were necessary in a congregation gathered from among the heathen, he answered: "I like good rules and desire to live in accordance with them among you. Take me on trial, and when you see that I do not behave properly [and] tell me that I should move away from you again, I will not say a word against it and will be obedient." (N. B. The trader did not obtain our permission.) An old Frenchman who had grown up among the Indians said the same thing. He has a wife from the Pottowattami nation and gets his living from the chase and farming like the Indians. Both he and his wife begged permission to live here. They both spoke the [Delaware] Indian language like born Indians. We called our Indian brethren and sisters together and talked with them as to what we should do in regard to these people. The Indian brethren were all of the opinion that we should receive them, and said that the Indians of the nation mentioned before might be converted, in which event they could be used among the nation of the Pottowattami, whereby also some of their nation might be converted. We gave permission therefore to receive both on trial.

In the evening we had the first meeting in the hut, 15 feet square, built for the purpose, and we thanked the Saviour for this little place, also for the proclamation of His Word.

21st. During the night it began to snow harder than had been the case at any time this winter, and by morning the snow was four inches deep, and because it froze hard it remained on the ground, too.

22d. In the evening we sang as usual with our little Indian congregation an Indian translation of the liturgy.

23d and *24th.* It was still very cold. In the afternoon a French merchant from Detroit who had arrived in the nearest town, visited us. He has many traders in this vicinity who trade for him with the Indians. He told us that before he left Detroit he had spoken with Indians from Fairfield, who had said that a number of Fairfield Indians would move to us this spring. He also had with him an Indian by the name of Levi, who had been baptized by the Brethren, who verified this statement, and said that he had received word from his sister, David's wife, in Fairfield, that he should come and fetch her and her family, for which he would soon get ready. This Levi also gave our Indians a present of corn, which he had inherited from his mother-in-law, who had died recently. This was especially appreciated by John Thomas, whose corn was gone, and on the 25th they went to a place 15 miles from here in order to get it. Joshua and Abigail who also went after the corn which they had presented them, as mentioned above, returned home again on the 27th, carrying as much of their gift corn as they could, and told us that their share of the present amounted to three bushels, and that each one of them had received that much. We rejoiced with them because scarcity of corn had already manifested itself among them.

28th. It rained the whole day, so that the snow disappeared in a short time.

29th. In the evening two heathen Indians came to us, the one from the Delaware and the other from the Schawano nation, and because they remained with us overnight, they attended the evening meeting and on the 30th left again.

31st. Early in the day old Jacob returned from the chase and related that he had caught only one beaver during the week that he was away. Deer he can no longer hunt, because, as he says, he is already too old for that. The same holds true of Joshua. John Thomas, who could hunt, seldom goes on the chase, and even if he sometimes brings a deer, we hardly ever get any of it, because he has a large family. For this reason we usually have little meat even though we live in the Indian land where deer and bear are plentiful. We must either buy every bit of meat or do without it. If one wants to buy a deer, that is, only the meat and not the skin, an Indian will ask two dollars for it. The only thing we can do here, in order not to buy meat at a high price, is to raise cattle. The day was passed in the customary way on the Sabbath.

February 1. All of our brethren and sisters returned to their sugar camps again.

3d. Five Indian women with their children came ten miles to us because they thought it was Sunday. They had come to attend the meetings and to hear the Word of God. Br. Kluge told them that it was not Sunday, but that we had services every day if the interpreter was here, and that we were very glad that they had visited us to hear the Word of God, etc. Because there was a very cold wind these days the sugar trees would not run, for which reason Br. Joshua came home on the 4th, and in the evening a meeting was held for those present.

5th. Another Indian family came to visit us. In the evening a meeting was held, which all visiting heathen attended. All these visitors remained with us until Sunday, the 7th, and early this morning two other women arrived on horseback, and all attended the preaching service with interest. Br. Kluge spoke on the following words of the Saviour: "They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." Mark 2:17. In the evening we held another service and this time we spoke on the daily text.—Our old, blind Lydia, who has been very sick for a number of days, was very weak today. Br. Kluge together with Joshua visited her and spoke to her of the sufferings of the Saviour. In answer to the question if she had much pain she said: "Yes; but the Saviour also had a great deal of suffering because of my sins, and that comforts me." Question: "Do you fear death?" Answer: "Oh, no, for my sins are washed away in Jesus' blood." Question: "Are you glad if at this time the Saviour calls you to Himself, and are you glad to go?" Answer: "Yes, I am very glad if He will only take me unto Himself quite soon. It is true that I am poor and blind in my eyes, but my soul shall see Him, when I come to Him," etc. It was very comforting to us and the brethren present to learn her heart's condition, so that we can thank the dear Saviour for what He has done for this woman, poor and physically blind, since her baptism.—Today a rather old Indian from the Delaware nation came to visit us, and begged permission to live with us and to marry Anna Salome at once, because she has no one to look after her material support. Sr. Abigail, her mother, being very anxious that she should marry this Indian, who appeared to be a respectable man, we gave our consent, especially since it surely would not go well with her without a husband.

8th. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

9th. Br. Joshua returned to his sugar camp, as the weather is very beautiful and springlike. Br. Luckenbach today went to the Indian town seven miles from here to buy some bear grease from a trader, and there met nearly all of the Indians in a drunken state, and when he wanted to return home again, a drunken Indian ran after him and wanted something from him for drink, Br. Luckenbach's watch having caught his eye especially. For a long time he could not get rid of the worthless fellow. Finally, as he saw that he could get nothing out of him, he asked Br. Luckenbach if he was angry, whereupon the answer was that he was not angry, so he called him friend and let him go.

10th. Br. and Sr. Kluge with their little son today visited one of our Indian families in their sugar camp, two miles from our place, and saw with pleasure that the sap of the trees was running fast, and that the Indians were quite busy with their sugar boiling.

11th. Br. Jacob went ten miles down the river in his canoe to fetch corn which belonged to his daughter. This afternoon our few communicant members were called away from their sugar camps for a spiritual consultation. This time their testimonies were universally encouraging, especially that of Br. Jacob and his wife Mary. They said: "We feel that we are very poor when we are not in constant communion with the Saviour, and yet we forget Him many a day, which, when we become conscious of it, hurts us very much, because we would like to be in fellowship with Him every hour, since it is thus that we are happiest," etc. John Thomas said that he prayed that the Saviour might keep him to the end with Him and in the congregation, "for I am very weak," etc. He also related that a heathen Indian had told him the following while on a visit to a heathen town: "I believe that God in whom you trust created me, but what He desires of me I do not know. If I knew His will I would seek to live up to it." Hereupon Br. John Thomas talked with him of many things, and made known unto him the will of God, and told him how he acted when he became a believer in God his Creator, and how happy one was in fellowship with Him, etc. Br. Kluge admonished all of them to make use of every opportunity to bear witness to every heathen what the blood of the wounds does for a poor sinner. After the meeting they all hurried back to their sugar places, as the weather is very beautiful and the sugar trees are running fast.

13th. This afternoon all of our Indian brethren and sisters came back from their sugar camps, and in the evening we enjoyed together the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion to the quickening of our poor hearts.

14th. Early in the morning, at 8 o'clock, we had the thanksgiving liturgy and at 11 o'clock Br. Kluge preached the sermon, which a number of heathen women attended. In the afternoon the majority went back again to their sugar camps.

15th. We two white brethren set in order our garden back of the house, chopped the wood lying about on it, threw it on a heap, and burned part of it, with which we were kept hard at work almost the whole week. After this was done we split wood for posts for a good fence, the beautiful weather helping us greatly to make progress.

18th. A heathen came riding into our place and had four large turkeys hanging across his horse. He had just shot them in the woods, and as we had not had any meat for quite a time we bought one of them for a little gunpowder. The turkey weighed 17 pounds. Shortly after a heathen Indian boy arrived with a number of turkeys, from whom, also, we bought one weighing 16 pounds for a quarter dollar, which is the usual price. We salted both of them down and were glad to have meat once again.

20th. Our Indian brethren and sisters came home for Sunday.

21st. Early in the day our old, blind Sr. Lydia became so weak that her sudden death was to be expected. All of a sudden she lost her hearing and began to sink rapidly, for which reason, before the sermon and in the presence of the Indian brethren and sisters, Br. Kluge gave her the blessing for her home going. In the evening we white brethren visited this poor sick woman and sang for her a number of hymns preparatory for death, and soon after retired for the night. We had not been in bed long, however, before we were awakened by the news that Sr. Lydia was dying. We immediately hastened to her side to be with her at her end, but she rallied again and lived until the 22d, two o'clock in the night, when at last her release from this vale of tears came and she quietly and peacefully fell asleep. Yet we two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, sang a few verses in front of her late hut and thanked the Saviour silently that He had taken this poor person to Himself into the happy, eternal rest. From the short time that she spent in our midst we may say the following, to the praise of God:

She came to us from among the heathen, August 3, 1801, and was greatly distressed over her soul's state and very desirous to hear the Word of God. She was therefore the first to inquire after God since our being here. She soon gained permission to make her abode with us, because she was anxious about her soul. Not being able to help herself, having been blind for three years, Br. and Sr. Jacob interested themselves in her welfare, took her to their home and cared for her. Though she was blind, she was able to do all sorts of work, for example, make baskets and straps for carrying, hoe corn and crush it, all of which she did gladly, and for this reason was greatly beloved by Br. and Sr. Jacob. She was always content and it was a pleasure to speak with her concerning her heart. Her one great desire was this—that she too might attain to the happiness which the Saviour obtained for us on the cross, for which reason she often begged to be baptized, her petition being accompanied with tears each time. On Christmas Day this grace was experienced by her. In the presence of many heathen she was baptized in Jesus' death by Br. Kluge receiving the name of Lydia. After this gracious favor had been granted her she was very content and happy and one could see that she lived in the faith of the Saviour. The services meant a great deal to her, and she never missed one of them. In this happy state of heart she continued until her release. During her sickness, which was very painful and which lasted three weeks, she was very calm and a blessing to those who visited her. Br. Kluge spoke to her a number of times about the Saviour, and when he asked her if she had much pain, she answered that she had, but that the Saviour had surely suffered a great deal more for her sins; that she rejoiced that He had also saved her and cleansed her with His precious blood; that she had no fear of death and rejoiced that she might now soon see Him, etc. In this happy expectation that the Saviour would soon take her to Himself she remained until, two days before her death, she lost her speech and hearing. Both of the first converts from among the heathen here —the first, Machdalena [Magdalena], died soon after her baptism—are consequently out of our midst and with the Saviour where they dwell in eternal safety.

23d. The Indian brethren and sisters were called from their sugar camps to attend the funeral, and because we still have so few Indian brethren we ourselves had to assist in the burial of the departed Sr. Lydia. Sr. Kluge made the shroud, and we two brethren helped to dig the grave, and in this way everything was finished in good time.

24th. In the afternoon the funeral of the departed Sr. Lydia was held. Br. Kluge made a short address in our assembly hut, after which the body was carried to God's Acre. There not being enough brethren as pallbearers, Br. Luckenbach assisted. At the grave the usual litany was prayed. After the funeral was over our brethren and sisters all hurried back again to their sugar camps, so that we are quite alone. The last few days we had rain almost constantly.

27th. A white man from Fort Hamilton came to us with two horseloads of salted pork, which he had brought into the Indian land to sell, but could not dispose of. This man offered to deliver us flour at $4.00 a hundred. We were glad to learn of a man like this, and immediately ordered a number of things from him. If he keeps his word and brings it to us for this price, we get it a dollar and a half cheaper per hundred than from the traders.

28th. Our brethren and sisters came home for Sunday. At 11 o'clock Br. Kluge held the preaching service, which two heathen women attended with interest. The mother of one of these heathen women had been baptized by the Brethren with the name Lucia and lost her life in the great Gnadenhütten massacre. Sr. Abigail asked them whether they did not want to be converted, too, whereupon they answered: "Yes, if we were sure that there were still names for us in heaven, we would be converted, but undoubtedly there are so many there already that there are no names left for us." Abigail told them that there were names enough there for all sinners who wanted to be converted and become believers in God, and all such found room with Him, etc. In the afternoon Br. Kluge had a terribly severe attack of fever for the second time. May the Saviour grant that it may not last long.

March 1. All our Indian brethren and sisters returned to their sugar camps. With the exception of Joshua, who had to remain at home on account of his invalid son, there was no one in the place, for which reason there can be no services in the evening as long as the sugar boiling lasts. Sr. Abigail uses our kettle for boiling sugar, for which we get half of the sugar. We would have liked to make sugar ourselves, but on account of the many other labors in connection with the getting ready of our garden and the building of a fence around the garden as well as around the cornfield, we have so much to do every day that we cannot think of making sugar this year, though we hope in the future to be able to provide ourselves with this article.

2d. We were glad that Br. Kluge did not get his fever again and that it left him entirely after a while, so that we could proceed with our necessary manual labors undisturbed. The weather was as beautiful as in spring, these days; in fact, we suffered little from the cold this winter, in that it was generally cold only for a few days at a time. As to snow, we hardly have any. The climate here is quite different from that below, in that the weather sometimes changes two or three times a day.

6th. All our Indian brethren and sisters came home again for Sunday.

7th. At the usual time Br. Kluge conducted the preaching service, after which all hurried back to their sugar camps.

8th. We two brethren Kluge and Luckenbach went to Sr. Abigail's sugar camp, and because this sister makes sugar for us on shares, as mentioned above, and is already weak and old, we chopped some wood for her, for which she was very grateful.

11th. An Indian woman from among the heathen visited us. Br. Kluge commended to her Jesus' love for sinners and begged her to consider that God also loved her very much, and also died and shed His blood for her, so that if she yielded herself to God and believed on Him her sins might also be washed away and she might live forever with Him. We told her that for this reason we had come from a great distance to bring her this message and to tell her how much God loves her; that she too might be saved, etc., whereupon she answered, "Yes, that is a great thing, and I have often thought of moving to you and becoming a believer in God, but something always prevented me. Now I want to consider the matter anew; perhaps, I will after all move to you soon," etc.

13th. The Delaware Chief Hockingpomska of the Wolf tribe visited us, and because all the Delaware chiefs of the Indians upon our arrival here promised to give us some corn, and this had not happened up to this time, our Indians reminded him of it by means of a little string of wampum, whereupon he promised that he would see to it immediately that they should receive the promised corn.

14th. All our Indian brethren and sisters came home from their sugar camps for Sunday, and Br. Kluge preached at the usual time on the words: "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Luke 19:10. After the service they all hastened back to their sugar camps, because the weather is very favorable for making sugar.

15th. We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, with the help of our two brethren, Joshua and John Thomas, made a beginning with the building of Br. Luckenbach's log house.

16th. Toward evening the putting together of the logs of Br. Luckenbach's fourteen-foot-square house was finished, for which we were very glad. The rest of the work on it we will have to do ourselves from time to time.

17th. Br. Luckenbach, and afterwards Br. Kluge, went to the sugar camp of Sr. Abigail, if possible to make some more sugar, because she had stopped making sugar on account of sickness. Today toward noon there came to us an Indian woman from the Schawano nation and her four children, and from here she went home. Her husband while hunting in the Ohio Valley, which is about ten days' journey from here, died in the woods, where she herself buried him and then, with four small children and a heavy load on her back, walked home the long distance.

19th. The weather changed. It rained almost constantly. At the same time it was very warm, so that we had to give up the sugar making for this time. Our Indian brethren and sisters also came home from their sugar camps, and concluded their sugar making for this year. In the evening we sang with our Indians a Passion liturgy, as usual on a Friday evening.

21st. Preaching service at the usual time, and in the evening a short congregational meeting. The first was attended by a number of visiting heathen.

22d. We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, were busy making a picket fence around the house and garden, because so far we have been troubled by the Indian dogs, so that we were unable to leave anything outside of the house. Although this fence making comes very hard on us, we hope thereby to get more rest.

24th. Our Indians got word that they should take the corn which the heathen Indians had gathered for them, whereupon Br. Joshua and Br. John Thomas went to Woapikamikunk for this purpose and procured about ten bushels. They could not bring all of it and left half of it with someone until they could come for it later on.

26th. Another message came that the Indian brethren should come and get the corn which had been collected for them in a second Indian town (Owenachki by name),[1] which amounted to about eight bushels. This news was again welcome in that almost all of them had a scarcity of corn. They brought part of this, also, during the following days. The meetings this week were held as usual.

28th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time, and in the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting. During the latter Mr. Gordon from Fort Hamilton came and brought, according to his promise, very nice flour at $4.00 a hundred, which previously had cost us five dollars and a half. We were very glad over it, and regard it as providential that we became acquainted with this man, who offered at any time to furnish us with flour at the above price.

29th. This man left us again, and we made use of this opportunity to send our diary and letters with him to mail to our dear brethren in Bethlehem, which he faithfully promised to do.

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[1] Hackinkpomska's town. See *post*, 199, 611.

31st. A Frenchman who had from a child grown up among the Indians moved to us with his Indian wife from the Potowatami nation and bought Joshua's house from him. Joshua wants to build himself another later on. He was glad to make a little profit, because for his poor little house built of round logs he got the sum of $25.00. The Frenchman and his wife mentioned above, live like the Indians, and get their living from the chase. They said that they had lived a number of years among the Delaware Indians here and were tired of their life among the heathen, for which reason they would like to live among the Christian Indians and hear the Word of God. In accordance with this wish they gained permission to move here on trial.

Herewith we greet most heartily the dear brethren of the General Helpers' Conference, as well as all dear brethren and sisters in the congregations and commend ourselves and our station to their prayers and remembrance before the Saviour.

JOH. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

SECOND QUARTER

April 1. In the evening a pretty old Indian, who was a mixture of Delaware and Schawano, arrived with his wife from the hunt. They spent the night here with our brethren and attended the service in the evening. After the same he assured our Indian brethren that he would return at the planting season, plant, and live here.

2d. When he again went on the bear hunt he again assured Br. Joshua of it, adding: "I do not tell you much at present but when I return, you will hear more from me." We wish from our hearts that this family would keep their promise, move here and be turned to God.

4th. This day was spent as usual.

5th. With his family, John Thomas started in a canoe for Woapicamikunk, in order to get the balance of the corn which was given him and to fetch old, baptized Anna Salome who wishes again to move to the congregation. Today also, to our sorrow, the big Indian of the Delaware nation, concerning whom more may be learned under date of Feb. 7th, left us for his old heathen town. He said: "I cannot become a singer because it always reminds me of how many of my friends have been killed in Gnadenhütten. I believe, as all the Indians believe, that the teachers have been the cause of it, for they called the white people to do it and they will do the same here when they have tamed many Indians. Then they will write to the white people to come and kill them. I shall get away therefore before I, too, have been tamed." We must often hear this foolish talk of the Indians. It is the Devil who uses this deceit in order to keep the poor heathen in his power. But we sincerely hope that those among the heathen who are truly in earnest concerning their conversion to God will come after all and accept the Word of God to their eternal salvation.

6th. During the afternoon two Indians came on horseback to visit us. The one was of the Potowatami and the other of the Twechtowe nation.[2]

7th. During the night from the 6th to the 7th Br. Kluge was called to Joshua's son, who for several years has suffered with an open sore on his neck. He is now very weak and quite out of his mind so that we cannot speak with him. Br. Kluge sang some verses for the dying and asked the dear Saviour to take him to Himself, if it be His gracious will. The day before Br. Kluge had spoken with him and pointed him to the Saviour as the helper in every need, and begged him to be sure to remember how much the Saviour suffered for us and also for him in order to save us so that we might be eternally with Him; that he should also beg the Saviour that He should appear to him as his succor on earth and show him a vision of how, for our need, He so mercifully in His last hours on the cross bled to death for us, etc. Whereupon he said: "When my pain becomes less, I always sing for myself the verse: 'Be near me when I'm dying.' "

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[2] In the eighteenth century the English habitually called the Miami the Twightwees. The tradition of the origin of the name is given in Kinietz (ed.), *Meearmeear Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge*, 6-7.

8th. He had an attack of convulsions so that with breaking eyes he lay there and trembled in his whole body and remained in this state uninterruptedly. It was pitiful to behold.

9th. John Thomas, with his wife, returned home from Woapicamikunk, and brought along the corn which they had stored there. With them returned old Anna Salome, who had been baptized in the olden times. She had begged permission for a long time to live in a congregation, which was granted her, too. She also brought one of her grandchildren, a girl of 13 years. She wished that she would also believe in the Saviour and remain in the congregation. We were very glad—but only sorry that she was already promised by her father to a heathen boy, and so, according to Indian custom, she will probably have to move to the boy's parents at some future time, living among the heathen if the young Indian has no desire to move to us likewise.

Br. John Thomas told us that in the Indian town 8 miles from here he had seen the corpse of an Indian woman who only a few days ago had passed through our village. When she reached home she complained of headache, two hours later she died. After she was dead her eyes became bloodshot, at which the heathen were frightened and looked upon it as a case of witchery, which they almost always think in case of every death among them.

10th. Br. Joshua asked us to pray with his son as he seemed to be near his end. We immediately went to him and Br. Kluge asked the blessing on his departure. There were some Indian members present. In the evening meeting we began the reading of the history of the Passion of our Lord and Saviour. We prayed the Saviour to make this great Passion of our Lord very impressive, so that none of us might ever forget how much it cost Him that we are saved.

Sunday, the 11th. Br. Kluge preached on the entry of our Saviour into Jerusalem. Two Indian women from the town 4 miles distant were present and listened attentively. In the evening Br. Luckenbach read the acts for the day but as it is not translated into Indian, Br. Joshua translated sentence by sentence. At one o'clock in the night Br. Joshua awakened us with the report that Christian was dying. We went at once and sang some verses. While we were singing: "Thy pain and agony has made us free," etc., he quietly passed away, aged 19 years.[3] We thanked the Saviour that He had released him from his long and painful sickness and had taken him to his eternal rest. We can say little of his life except that he was sick already when he left Goshen with his father, Br. Joshua, and came with us to this place. During the short time he spent with us he was almost continuously sick. Although we often visited him and directed him to the Saviour as the only helper in every need, he never said much about his spiritual state or gave evidence that he thought much about his salvation and his end. His complaint always remained this, that he had to endure so much suffering. To everything we said to him his answer was only "Yes" and "No." Yet we hope and our heart's desire is that the Lord has at last accepted him in mercy as a poor sinner.

13th. Christian was buried in the usual way, with a liturgy, on our God's Acre. Today, too, our Indian brethren and sisters were interviewed individually in preparation for the coming Holy Communion. This gave us much to recall, at the same time we rejoiced heartily that nearly all felt humble and sinful, and showed a desire for a new measure of the Saviour's grace. In the evening we continued the reading of the Passion history of our Saviour, during which we felt very happy. We were also greatly grieved today to learn anew that there is still so little prospect for the Lord's cause here because the heathen in the town 4 miles away are nearly always drunk. Today again they have dragged 80 gallons of whisky there and as there were few heathen men at home the women drank it and all got drunk. This way it goes, we hear, in all the Indian towns. The Lord will have to work miracles if any good can come from our labors. Judging from the reports that came to us in Goshen, we thought these heathen were anxious for the Word of God. But alas we now see that for the time every approach is closed as if surrounded by high walls. The Devil makes use of every kind of strategy to hold these poor slaves in his power. Our constant prayer is that the Saviour should strengthen us, his poor servants, preserve our courage so that we may endure faithfully all trials.

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[3] Christian was born at the New Gnadenhütten Mission in Michigan on January 3, 1783. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger,* 1:133.

14th. In the afternoon a reading service, and in the evening we followed the example of Jesus in the foot washing,[4] with our communicant members, to the blessing of our hearts.

15th. In the afternoon there was again the reading of the Passion history of Jesus, and in the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion with our Indian brethren and sisters, to the quickening of our poor hearts, during which the dear Saviour was palpably near to us.

16th. To the blessing of our hearts there was a reading meeting in the morning and afternoon.

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[4] With respect to this practice, it may be pointed out that the *pedelavium* was instituted among the Moravians at Herrnhut at an early period. It was not an established part of the ritual and fell into disuse after 1818 when the General Synod left the matter in the hands of the local Elders' Conferences.

17th. In the afternoon we had a love feast with our brethren and sisters.

Easter Sunday, the 18th. Before the sun rose we gathered in our meeting house with our brethren and sisters. The greeting: "The Lord is risen" was given and part of our Easter litany was prayed. Then in a procession we went to God's Acre where the remainder of the litany was prayed in remembrance of those who were sleeping there. At ten o'clock was the sermon and in the evening we read the history of the resurrection of our Saviour, and on our knees thanked Him for His precious suffering and dying, and for the salvation thereby obtained, and rejoiced in His glorious resurrection. The Saviour was very near to us. With this we closed the Holy Days which proved such a blessing to us and our Indian brethren and sisters, because, in Goshen, in the Indian Congregation only the first day is usually observed, and our Indian brethren were therefore not accustomed to anything else.

19th. Every one returned to work again.

20th. Two of our Indian families went down the river, in a canoe, twenty miles to get corn. We two white brethren were busy splitting wood for a fence around our cornfield.

21st. We were grieved that our interpreter, Br. Joshua, went to the Indian town, four miles distant, to a big spree of the heathen. He told them that his son had died. According to heathen custom, they bewailed it and drank whisky. He got drunk and disgraced himself among the heathen. In the evening, when drunk and with his face painted, he returned. He said that on account of his son he had sorrowed. Oh! what a deep, sharp pain it was to us, for this poor man had just a few days ago quarreled with his wife and struck her. Afterwards he said he had asked the Lord anew for forgiveness and promised Him a new obedience, and now to see him fall again into sin and surrender to Satan!

22d. Early in the morning he quietly packed up and intended going, with bag and baggage, to the heathen. Just as he was about to load his belongings into a canoe we two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, came from our cornfield on the other side of the river and caught him in the act. Br. Kluge asked him where he was going. He answered: "I am not worthy to remain here any longer, for I have sinned too grievously. I have lately asked forgiveness and have promised the Lord and my teachers obedience and said that if I behaved badly once more you should not put up with me any longer in the congregation. For this reason I am going of my own accord and will not trouble you any longer." Br. Kluge replied: "Yes, that is alas only too true; but I must tell you that it pains us in our souls to see you, in your old days separating yourself so frivolously from the Lord, intending to surrender yourself entirely to the Devil. Just think of how much the Lord has done for you already, with how much patience and forbearance he has borne you, otherwise you would have long since been lost. We have continued to warn you and beg you to hold fast to the Lord and to ask of Him a faithful heart. It has all been in vain. You wish to run deliberately to your own destruction. You will certainly suffer for it at some time and when it is too late you will regret it. You are responsible for much to the Lord because you have sinned not alone for your own person but you have also heaped much disgrace upon the Lord's cause. You can now do what you wish." Then we left him. Well-nigh in despair he called with a loud voice: "Is there still mercy for me?" Br. Kluge answered him: "There is mercy with the Lord for every sinner who seeks Him with his whole heart." He then at once, weeping bitterly, carried everything back to his house. During the afternoon Sr. Kluge saw him lying in the grass weeping and praying aloud. Towards evening he came to us weeping, talked over everything and acknowledged that in all the Indian congregations in which he had been he had acted so badly. Thus he had everywhere grieved God and his teachers so much. This all came to his mind and rested upon him like a heavy load. He begged us to forgive him this once, as he would not rest till he had also obtained forgiveness from the Lord. Whereupon we assured him that on our part we would willingly forgive him, but he should not be satisfied with that, for that would help him nothing, if he did not seek and find grace and forgiveness with the Lord.

23d. Br. Joshua wrote the following letter to us: "I, Joshua, have sinned greatly against God and man. How have I permitted myself to be blinded by Satan. I now realize fully what I have done. I have become a disgrace and a shame which I now regret from my heart. I am sorry and very sad. But I believe that I am still in the Lord's hands, because my life is in His hand. If it should depend on my works I would long since have been lost. His inexpressible grace has preserved me so long, therefore I call and cry to the Lord with my whole heart to have pity upon me, a poor sinner, for I am a sinner torn in soul and body. Remember me before the dear Saviour, dear brethren." These are his own words. The Lord grant that we may now, at least, see an entire change come upon this poor man so that he may be at last rescued and saved.

Sunday, the 25th. As our Indians were not at home we could have no service.

27th. One night our sow, which had nine young ones, was most unfortunately not put into the stable, when a wolf stole five of them, the loss of which is very great to us. In future we shall have to take greater care. The wolves are very bad here because the Indians never shoot one because they entertain the superstition that if they shoot a wolf their gun will be ruined. For this reason the wolves are tolerated and do much harm.

May 1. We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, borrowed a horse and dragged from the woods all the rails we had split last week for a fence to our cornfield.

3d. We were busy putting up the rail fence.

4th. An Indian from the heathen visited us and said that he was desirous of being saved. He was the first one who said so since we have been here. Br. Kluge spoke with him through Joshua, and related to him how the Saviour loved sinners, that He gave His life for them and shed His blood, so that everyone for the sake of His blood might find in Him mercy and freedom from sin, if he only believed on Him with all his heart and asked Him for it. "He has also bought you with His precious blood and desires to save you," etc. Whereupon the Indian replied: "That is all true what you say, and I believe it also. I wished to be converted when the believers lived on the Susquehanna, and lived with them for that reason. I moved with them to the Muskingum, but because I had to wait so long for baptism, I thought that conversion was difficult. I probably will never reach it and have given up hope. I had a strong desire to be saved and had the teachers said to me, if you permit yourself to be killed, you will then be saved, I would have obeyed at once. I was still a boy at that time and was lost again among the heathen and did everything that they did. But when I attended their sacrificial feasts, I was restless and always thought, that helps me in no way. I have not found grace with God and am always restless, and can find no rest. I am not young any more, but if I knew that I could still find grace with God and could be saved I would give up everything for it. My desire, however, is not only to live with you, be baptized and be called a Christian; no, I am not satisfied with that, for I feel heavy here (pointing to his heart), that is what I wish to get rid of and know with certainty that I have received forgiveness from God," etc. Br. Kluge answered him: "The longing which you have in your heart after the grace of God is not of yourself, but God through His Spirit has worked it in your heart, and is mercy already. From this you can see how dear you are to God; He wants you saved, therefore He convicts you by His Spirit that you cannot be saved without Him and

His grace. If you will not cease asking Him, as friend asks a friend, for He hears everything even though you do not see Him—that He should be gracious to you, a poor sinner also, and cleanse you from all your sins by His precious blood, then you will soon feel the peace of God in your heart, and know how dearly He loves sinners," etc. He burst into loud weeping so that he could not say any more. Br. Kluge gave him his hand and said: "You are my brother and have permission to live here." Next day he left for home and promised to return soon. This occurrence was very encouraging to us and filled us with new hope. The Saviour grant that this man and many more come and become a reward of Jesus' suffering, then we would not mind any hardships.

6th. Our two Indian families returned with the corn that had been given them, and after which they had gone April 30th. But unfortunately we soon heard something which grieved us terribly, namely, that John Thomas had been untrue to his wife with an Indian woman, over which his wife (Indian Sr. Catherine) was very much exercised and wanted to leave him. The painful part of it was that, when spoken to about it, he did not acknowledge himself a sinner, but became defiant, and in a few days went to a near-by heathen town to work, where he became drunk one time after another. His wife, who was at first so angry, now seemed to be reconciled, for she went with him to the heathen town and remained there with him for 10 days. This was like a powder explosion to us on top of our previous joy. On the whole, the Indian brethren and sisters who moved here with us from Goshen are a disgrace among the heathen, with the exception of the old Br. and Sr. Jacob, who are faithful Christians. From this, dear brethren, you may imagine how we often feel. We have no one here, except the Saviour, upon whom we can rely. He must do it all if anything is to be done here, and the hearts of the heathen made good.

8th. We two brethren finished putting up the fence.

9th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time.

10th. We began planting corn.

12th. Br. Jacob returned from Woapicamikunk and brought Sr. Kluge a letter from her parents in Lititz, Pa. which the chiefs had brought along from there. The chiefs related to the Indians that on their journey they had visited Lititz, and spoke highly of the warm welcome of the Lititz brethren. This was very agreeable to us because the Delaware chiefs live near us. We would have liked to send letters also, when they started on their journey to Philadelphia, but we learned of their leaving too late.

15th. We finished our corn planting and have now planted an acre with pumpkins, beans, and potatoes. We worked quite alone without any help and now only hope for a good harvest. Thus far, this spring, we have had little rain; this month especially is very dry but very cool.

16th. Br. Kluge conducted the preaching service which was attended by some heathen women. In a meeting today Indian Sr. Anna Salome, a baptized woman, was readmitted into the congregation.

17th. Our few Indians who were at home were busy planting and putting up fence. It is done very poorly, for some are weak, sickly, and old, while others are lazy. The work usually falls on one or two persons who become discouraged because they have so little help. In Indian fashion they always leave everything till the last minute, when the greatest need drives them to it. So that instead of their helping us we must help them, as is the case at present with their fence building. We put up our fence alone and we were forced to help them so that they would not stop entirely.

18th. We heard that the Schawanoses had murdered, in pitiful fashion, in their town, an Indian of their own nation, while drinking whisky. First they chopped three holes in his head with their tomahawk or Indian hatchet, and as he did not fall dead at once, one of them jumped on him with a knife and ran it into his body, while another cut his stomach open. This happened 15 miles from here, where the Schawanoses live. Thus also lately a Delaware Indian murdered a Schawano woman. A drunken bout never takes place among the heathen without one or the other losing his life or being at least terribly maltreated. Many of them drink themselves to death, of which we have seen and heard pitiful cases, since we are here. The guzzling of whisky among these heathen is so dreadful that no one can imagine it. One hundred or more gallons of whisky are brought to such an Indian town by the heathen, and then they do not stop drinking till there is not a drop left.

19th. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

20th. Today and for several days Br. Luckenbach was busy putting the roof on his house. Our Indians were still busy making fence and planting. As to our food, I would say that we still live almost daily on flour, milk, and butter. We have not had any fresh meat for several months because none of our Indians go hunting. The only one, John Thomas, who could go hunting, gave his gun to a heathen friend and now he has none.

21st. With our brethren we sang a Passion liturgy which had been translated into Indian.

Sunday, the 23d. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time and several heathen were present. In the afternoon, one of the heathen women who had been present at the service, just as she wanted to ride home, had the misfortune of being kicked on her head by her horse so that she was thrown to the ground and received a dreadful wound. It caused a great uproar among the heathen. Br. Jacob, a friend of the woman, called Br. Kluge to his assistance, whereupon Br. Kluge went to much trouble to quench the blood. At last he was successful and tied up her head as well as he could.

24th. The woman was taken home in a canoe. Sr. Kluge gave her a plaster which she had brought along from Lititz, Pa. Several days later the heathen sent a boy to us and asked for another such plaster because, as they said, it healed the patient's wounds nicely. We were glad to hear this and Sr. Kluge gladly sent her another.

26th. In the evening we had a special meeting with the communicants preparatory to the Holy Communion close at hand.

27th. This was Ascension Day of our Saviour Jesus Christ. In the morning there was preaching, at which time we first read the history from the harmony of the four Gospels, whereupon Br. Kluge spoke on the object of this important history, and reminded the brethren and sisters to be very grateful to the dear Saviour for His incarnation, death, and ascension, and never to forget that from this emanated our happiness for time and eternity, etc. After this the brethren and sisters were addressed in preparation for the Holy Communion. On this occasion so much that was painful showed itself that our eyes were flooded with tears, and we [would have] lost almost all courage, had not the Saviour ever again renewed our hope. The result was that unfortunately four of our communicant members, on account of flagrant sins, were barred from communion. Because we have only six communicants in all, old Br. Jacob and his wife Mary alone remained. These enjoyed Holy Communion with us.

28th. In the evening, as is customary on every Friday, we sang a Passion liturgy.

29th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of Jesus in the Holy Communion, together with two Indian members, to the quickening of our poor hearts.

30th. After the thanksgiving liturgy, Br. Kluge preached at the usual time. Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting in the evening.

31st. In the afternoon an old Delaware chief of the Turkey tribe arrived in order to buy a butter tub from Br. Joshua. N. B. The Delaware nation consists of three tribes, viz: the Turtle, the Turkey and the Wolf. Each of these tribes has its own chief, with its captain. These deliberate together, as circumstances demand it, on the welfare of their nation. This chief talked with Br. Kluge quite a long time about the object of our being here. Br. Kluge said that we wished from our hearts that the Indians would accept the Word of God to their salvation, and turn from sin to their God, their Creator, who from love had given His life unto death for all mankind, which would be better for them as at present they are only devoted to drinking whisky and all evil which follows the same, killing each other and drinking themselves to death, rendering themselves unhappy in body and soul, etc. "Yes," he replied, "you are right, Brother, it is true what you say. Neither do I like the way the Indians live at present. I always speak to my people about it. When they are not drunk they acknowledge that their drinking makes them poor and does them harm. They say then that they will move to the Christian Indians and drink no more whisky. But as soon as whisky is brought to the towns, and that is continually done, the old women sell it to the Indians. Then they at once forget their good resolutions, hail the whisky with exultation, beat their wives and children and exchange the very shirts on their bodies for whisky." Br. Kluge replied: "You are the chiefs of your nation, you should agree that this deadly drink is not brought among you. Forbid the old women to sell it! If they do not obey you, you must have it understood among you that as soon as someone brings whisky to your towns, you will destroy the whisky barrels. Pour out the liquor! then, perhaps, they will not get any more." "Yes," he answered, "the other two chiefs do not think as I do. They always speak of stopping the whisky drinking but they do nothing because they are fond of it themselves. When the young Indians have whisky they always take a few quarts to them. Instead of refusing it and telling them not to drink whisky, they accept it and get drunk before the eyes of the young people and do not know what they say. This the young people regard as an example and as if they said, 'Do likewise.' Because I see that they think differently than I do, I have told the other two chiefs never to call me to their meetings when they have whisky, as we wish to get rid of whisky drinking. But if you have a fat bear or a stag, then boil a large kettle full and call me. Then I will eat all I want and thank the great God for giving us this meat. Since then they do not call me. I am glad of it." Besides he said: "I often hear a great deal said of you, that you are not good people because you do not live like the other Indians. But I say nothing to it and think those are people who have the great word from God. I love you although I do not yet live among you," etc.

June 1. The old chief bid us all a friendly good-by and returned to Woapicamikunk where he lives.

2d. At last it again began to rain hard. The cornfields and garden are greatly in need of it as it has scarcely rained during the entire month of May. At the same time it was very cool almost every day so that nothing grew properly.

3d. Today and the following days our Indians were again busy putting up fences around their cornfields. This work gives them much trouble, and that indeed for the reason that they want to fence in the entire plain although they cultivate barely a third of it. Only because the heathen speak of how each one of them (our Indians) fences only his own field and not in common, as they make fences, do they wish to do it, not taking into consideration that they are only two men for such a large task. Yet they undertake it and then always complain the one about the other, that not all would help. We let them go, because they would not take our advice. The talk of the heathen soon takes effect on them, even if it gets them into trouble.

Whitsunday, the 6th. The sermon was at the usual hour. At the beginning of the service, while kneeling, Br. Kluge thanked God, the true God, in a prayer for

His faithful care and keeping of us needy ones, and begged Jesus for forgiveness, where we were not obedient to His mild voice, and thereby often grieved Him, and beseeched Him most heartily to strive with us further, and graciously remain with us, so that all our work might be done in His name and accompanied by His presence. In the afternoon we had a very disagreeable experience with one of our people. There is a young Indian, Samuel, Sr. Catherine's son, who has been with us for some time.[5] Two years ago this fellow left Goshen with a heathen woman and has lived here among the heathen. Now he came, uninvited and lived with his mother. He has tried in every way to insult us with his heathen practices. He painted his face, went to the Indian towns and got drunk. Then he came back and went about our village screaming like a drunken heathen. Yes, even during our services he not only made a disturbance but also gave offense among old and young so that even the heathen who just happened to be with us spoke about it. His mother, although a communicant member, saw all this scandal without saying anything or punishing him. We could endure it no longer and had the man come to us. We admonished him in the presence of two Indian brethren either to change his behavior or to leave us. We reminded him of his baptism and kindly showed him his bad behavior, saying that he would be lost if he continued thus. But he was like a stick and then said: "I do not wish to be converted," and walked out of the door. Soon after his departure, John Thomas, who has also been in a bad way for some time, came to our house quite angry. He wished to take us to task for speaking to Samuel about his bad behavior and for sending him away. He made use of many rough expressions, saying: "This is Indian land and I will see to it that you are driven away to the white people from whom you came. The chiefs also speak of it, for they have called only the Indians to come here and not you," etc. We answered him: "We are sorry that you have surrendered yourself to the Devil and that you personally, up to the top of your head, languish in sin. You are trying to hinder and betray the Lord's work. This will, some day, be very grievous for you. But do what you wish. God is stronger than you." This man has caused us much grief already; it cannot be described. The longer he continues the worse he gets because he knows we cannot send him away. If we should he would only laugh at us and worry us so much the more. By force we can accomplish nothing, that he knows very well, because we have no one but the Lord for our help. What are we to do? You can imagine, dear brethren, how, in such a situation, our courage fails. This incessant talk and threats that the chiefs had not called us teachers, but only the Indians, from Goshen have now at last become too great for endurance. On this account we conferred with the Indians, Joshua and Jacob, about sending a string of wampum to the chiefs in order to inform them of such talk and also to demand of them a positive answer in respect to us teachers.

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[5] Samuel was Catherine's son by a former husband. He was baptized on January 6, 1787, at the mission on the Cuyahoga. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 1:318.

8th. Br. Joshua started with the message to the chiefs.

9th. He returned with the report that the chiefs had assured him that they were all lies that some bad Indians had told and that we should refer to them, the chiefs. We should not listen to them but believe that they, the chiefs, love us and like to have us here, as they had assured us on our arrival. Also that they would not object, if all the Indians should move to us and be converted. They added: "Whoever does not behave well with you and is wicked, send him away from your village. We will never take you to task about it; but much more, if we find any of them among us, we will consider them bad and disobedient Indians," etc., etc. Time will show whether they have spoken the truth or have only dissembled.

10th. The Indian brethren and sisters helped us hoe our corn, for which we gave them plenty to eat.

11th. and the following days the Indians helped each other hoe their corn so that the fields were soon rid of weeds but the fence has not been completed yet. The services were held every evening this week after the usual order.

13th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time.

15th. A heathen family arrived from the hunt. This family had said before they went hunting that they would move here and be converted. Now, when they were asked about it, they said they still had the intention to do so but they had not yet fully decided upon what they would do. Perhaps when they had brought all their hunting things from the woods, they would be able to say something positive. In the meantime, they said they would rest here for a few days and at night would hunt with a light on the river. The Indian did this and shot three deer the first night, sharing the meat with all of our people; we also were not forgotten. These were the first deer shot here for a long time.

16th and 17th. During the night he again shot two deer and shared them, like the first, with us, so that during these days we had venison enough. As we have rain nearly every day everything grows well in the fields and gardens.

Sunday, the 20th. Several visiting heathen women attended the preaching. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

21st. Unexpectedly we had the great pleasure that one of the heathen Indians who had been in Philadelphia with the chiefs and who returned by way of Goshen brought us many letters from Bethlehem and our Goshen brethren, with the monthly reports from the U. E. C.,[6] as well as weekly reports of the Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem. This was a delightful gift and a truly happy day for us. We had waited long and now at last received them. We were only sorry that we had received no textbooks and shoes, which last we so greatly need. Like people very hungry for food we hastened to read the letters and reports mentioned above that had been received, and never stopped until everything had been read through, which took until 11 o'clock at night. (It was toward evening when we received them.) Though much of it was old, it was a true pleasure anyway, and of great interest. We read with sympathetic interest the report of the death of the dear brethren and faithful servants of God, our dear old fathers Etwein[7] and Marschall[8] here in America, as well as that of the worthy Br. Gregor.[9] We too thanked the Saviour for their long, happy service in the Brethren's Unity. We were also interested in the transfer of brethren in the congregations in America, and wish them all much blessing for their work from the fullness of Jesus' grace. Everything we heard on this occasion caused us to praise and thank our dear Saviour for His revelation to our brethren everywhere.

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[6] The Unity's Elders' Conference.

22d. and the following days a heathen family visited here. They attended all the evening services and spoke of moving here in order to hear the Word of God. Every night the head of this family went hunting in a canoe, shooting from three to four deer. He gave them to us and our people so that at present we have plenty of venison. In time they returned to their home but promised to come soon again. We wish it might be true, that they would not only move here but also turn with their whole hearts to God.

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[7] Bishop John Ettwein guided the fortunes of the Moravian Church in America with great ability during the trying days of the American Revolution. He died January 2, 1802.

[8] After performing important service in Great Britain for the Moravian Church, Frederick William von Marschall took charge of its temporal affairs in Pennsylvania; in 1764 he laid out the town of Salem in North Carolina. He died at that place on February 11, 1802.

[9] Bishop Christian Frederick Gregor held many important offices in the Church at Herrnhut. In 1770 he came to America to regulate certain of its temporal affairs; he later provided the Church with a book of hymns which was used for over a century. He died November 6, 1801.

25th. A white man, Mr. Gordon, arrived from Hamilton and brought us excellent flour at $4. a hundred. We were very thankful as we must pay $6. for it here.

26th. Our Indian brethren helped us to put our corn in hillocks, for which we had to feed them.

27th. There was a preaching service as usual and an evening meeting.

28th. and the following days our Indians helped one another hoe their corn. Both ours and the Indian brethren's corn looks excellent this year and promises a good yield. The weather is very favorable as it often rains for days. This, for our loose soil, is very good so that everything grows most extraordinarily.

THIRD QUARTER

July 1. In the evening services we again made known the rules which have always been in use in the Indian congregations. The reason was that, alas, for some time we noticed that our Indians do not live according to them, as Christian Indians should, but each does as he pleases, so that they have fallen into all sorts of bad ways and gotten into sinful bypaths, especially whisky drinking during the visits of the heathen, for which we had to admonish them continually. We presented the matter to them in a kindly manner and asked about their intentions, and told them that they should say publicly whether they wished to obey God's ordinances, with God's assistance, or not. At the same time we said it would be their misfortune if they lived without these ordinances. This gave them an opportunity to declare themselves publicly. They all promised anew to obey these ordinances with their usual excuses: "if they could they gladly would." Some seemed to take it to heart and wept. The Saviour grant that for once they may be in real earnest to get rid of sin and be saved. Then their walk would be a good example for the heathen and not, as heretofore, a stumbling block.

2d. We sang an Indian Passion liturgy, as is customary on holy days.

3d. Brethren Jacob and Joshua started for Cincinnati in order to procure some necessities for themselves, which cannot be had here; also some communion wine. We sent some letters addressed to Bethlehem with them to be mailed.

Sunday, the 4th. Because there was no interpreter we could hold no service. During the afternoon the Indian Alemi who lately brought us letters from Goshen, told us that in August he was again going into the land of the whites, and would go by way of Goshen. He offered to take letters along from here to Goshen. We were very glad to hear it, and gave him a piece of tobacco, which he was pleased to receive.

5th. To our great sorrow the little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge had a severe attack of fever, and subsequently had it every other day. It weakened him greatly and was pitiful to behold.

6th. The heathen family mentioned on the 15th of last month returned, saying they had now resolved to move here permanently. For this reason they had already brought all their hunting implements from the woods, and now wanted to bring them here. We were very glad to hear this, wishing they would really move here and become a reward of the sufferings of Jesus.

7th. Another Indian came on a visit. It was the Indian Pakantschiles' brother, with his wife, who had been baptized by the Brethren. Her name is Lucia. As this Indian brought the first message of invitation of the Christian Indians to Goshen, Br. Kluge asked him whether he would not also yield himself to God and believe in Jesus, the Son of God, who had given His life unto death from love to mankind, to save us from our sins. He replied that he did not know yet, he loved whisky too much. But when he left he said to old Sr. Anna Salome, whose granddaughter his wife is: "I will also move here and hear the Word of God."

9th. In the evening, with our Indian brethren and sisters, we sang an Indian translation of a Passion liturgy.

11th. We prayed the church litany with our brethren and sisters, our interpreter, Br. Joshua, not being at home yet.

12th. We began to make hay for our cows for the winter. All we have to do is to cut and dry it. On the meadows here the finest long grass grows; there is enough for several hundred head of cattle. This is an excellent neighborhood for raising cattle because you do not have to provide fodder. The cows and horses just go about in the grass which is so high that you can hardly see them, and they are as fat as if they were stall-fed.

13th. It was a happy day for us as our two Indian Brn. Jacob and Joshua returned from Cincinnati. Our friend, Mr. Ziegler, to whom Br. Kluge had written, sent us everything that had come to him for us from our dear brethren in Bethlehem, besides a friendly letter from him. To our great joy we received a bundle of shoes, a pair for each and two pair for Br. Kluge's little son, who, up to the present, had worn Indian shoes; this was so gratifying to us because none had been ordered yet for him, and [he] still needed them. We also received precious letters from our dear Brethren Cunow and Van Vleck, besides weekly reports of the U. E. C., as well as monthly reports from the Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem. Also, 3 textbooks—2 German and one English—also some medicine, and some letters from various brethren and sisters and friends. All this gave us great joy. We thanked our dear Saviour that He brought everything safely into our hands, and just as grateful are we to our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference for their faithful solicitude for us.

14th. and on the following days, to the true blessing of our hearts, we read together the reports and took a deep interest in everything found therein, and thanked our dear Lord and Saviour for His gracious presence with His poor Brethren people everywhere and at all times, and beseeched Him to continue to keep and bless us needy ones in this place, together with our dear brethren and sisters, with the constant fellowship of His Spirit. In the evening meeting Br. Kluge conveyed the greetings to our Indian brethren and sisters from the brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and in an address encouraged them to love anew the Saviour and be faithful to Him. The Indian Br. Joshua related a remarkable story of his journey to Cincinnati. It was that he had seen white people who live about there; that they fell into a faint and lay as if dead for 2 or 3 hours. When they again regained consciousness they said to the other people: "We must be converted from our ungodly life, otherwise we will all be lost, for in the state we are in at present we will not reach heaven." Many people there also told him that many of those who saw this, even during the operation, had made fun of them. Soon after the scoffers fell down on the ground, and when they gained consciousness they said the same. Even a minister found fault with them and said the people are insane. While he was preaching he, too, fell over and lay there as if dead for several hours. When he gained consciousness, he affirmed it with the same words as truth. Upon this a great crowd of people gathered together and he prayed to God with them. These things do not only occur daily among the inhabitants along the Miami, but they also hear similar reports of them on the Ohio. As to whether this strange story has any foundation, we know nothing except what we heard from Br. Joshua.[10]

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[10] The so-called "Great Revival" was at its height in the West in 1800 and 1801. The movement originated in Kentucky among the

16th. In the afternoon a young Indian from a nearby town came to us. He said that he, his three brothers, his father and mother, also had spoken a great deal with each other, all night till the roosters crowed, to the effect that it would, perhaps, be well for them to accept the Word of God and move to us, whereupon they had sent him to us to inquire what would probably become of them, if they should also accept the Word of God and move here. Br. Kluge answered him through Br. Joshua, as interpreter: "I will tell you what will become of you, if you follow this impulse, move here, give up heathenism, accept the Word of God, and surrender yourselves body and soul to God, who from love became man, and died for the salvation of men in order to deliver them from the power of Satan and sin; and [if] you believe with all your heart, then you become children of God, and will live with Him forever," &c. Whereupon the young Indian replied: "That is good, that I will repeat to my father, mother, and brothers. You will then hear further what we have decided upon among ourselves." He then gave us his hand and rode home. The Saviour grant that we may have the joy to see that these and more, too, will yield themselves to Him as the reward of His suffering. The services were all held as usual every evening this week.

Sunday, the 18th. At the usual time there was preaching, at which some heathen listened attentively. After

Presbyterians but soon spread to other sects and throughout the western country. Multitudes flocked to the various encampment grounds where meetings were held day and night. Barton W. Stone described the scene at a meeting ground: "Many, very many, fell down, as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together in an apparently breathless and motionless state—sometimes for a few moments reviving, and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan, or piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy most fervently uttered." J. P. Mac Lean, "The Kentucky Revival and Its Influence on the Miami Valley," Ohio Archaeological and Historical *Publications*, 12 (1903): 242-86. See also Catharine C. Cleveland, *The Great Revival in the West 1797-1805* (University of Chicago Press, 1916).

the service some 20 heathen women came on horseback to hear, as they said, the Word of God. For this reason Br. Kluge with pleasure made an address during the afternoon on the words of Jesus: "Verily, verily I say unto you, He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me hath everlasting life," etc. John V-21 [24]. The Saviour gave grace that the love of Jesus for sinners could be proclaimed to them with a warm heart, and among other things they were urged to yield themselves, body and soul, to God, our Creator and Redeemer, etc. They were all very attentive and rode home after the service, very quietly and orderly, and we three white Christians covenanted anew with courage and consciousness of our impotence to preach the saving Word of God to the heathen, and constantly beseech the Saviour to bless His gospel graciously to the hearts of the heathen, which is preached by His poor instruments, and keep us in the faith to look up to Him.

19th. We spoke to our Indian members concerning their walk hitherto, which they themselves occasioned. It was encouraging to us to hear that they desired anew to yield themselves to the Saviour, and showed themselves very troubled and conscious of sin, in that recently they grieved the Saviour by their walk. We then announced that we would enjoy Holy Communion together next Saturday, because we could not have it at the usual time on account of the two brethren, Joshua and Jacob's, journey to Cincinnati. They were all very happy over the prospect. Toward evening a large family of 9 adults and one child arrived from the Twechtowe nation, and encamped near our village.

20th. Br. Kluge went to them with the old Frenchman living here. His wife is of the Potowattomi nation. He knows the Twechtowe language and can speak with them. As soon as they had greeted Br. Kluge they arose and gave him their hand, begging him to sit down with them awhile in their tent. When this had taken place, an old woman, the mother of this family, began to speak in the name of her children and grandchildren as follows: "Father, I, my children and grandchildren rejoice to see you, our father, today. We come from afar, namely 100 miles, beyond Opost where there is a large town of our nation.[11] I, and my husband, long since deceased, were baptized in our youth by a French priest. He died long ago and we have seen no other since." With these words she showed us a medal on which was engraved a man's face, with a chalice in his hand. "This," she said, "the priest gave me, and told me to take good care of it. He gave my husband a little bell to remind him of the church. My husband, before he died, said to me and my children, none of whom are baptized, that we should try and find another priest if possible. If we found one we should remain with him and not live like the other Indians. Accordingly we have been always seeking but found no priest till we came to this river to a Delaware town not far from here. There we heard of you, our father. But as long as we stayed in the Delaware town, where the sky was always dark and covered with many thick clouds, one of my sons was always unhappy and sickly. None of us could breathe, so that we soon left that place and have now come here to our father. As soon as we arrived here the sky cleared up so that we saw no longer any thick clouds, and the day was quite beautiful, so that the sun shone brightly again and my son got well again immediately, and we could breathe comfortably." Hereupon, according to Indian fashion, Br. Kluge called them our children and assured them of our interest in their circumstances; that we loved them heartily, that we rejoiced at their arrival and especially that our dear children had come such a long distance to hear the Word of God. "We shall devote ourselves to you as our dear children and tell you a great deal about God and make his will known to you." Upon this they expressed their pleasure. Br. Kluge extolled Jesus' love for sinners and they listened attentively to all he told them. In conclusion he said besides to them: "If this pleases you, what you have now heard concerning God, and you have a wish to hear more, we will tell you more, as often as you desire it, about our good God and Saviour." Hereupon they all gave us their hands once more and assured us that it would be agreeable to them. On the following days we frequently visited them, and they came every evening to the meetings, where they sat very respectfully, their faces painted and adorned with silver coin.

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[11] Vincennes was designated by the French as the "poste du Ouabache" and "au poste"; from the latter the American settlers commonly wrote "Opost." Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery* (Boston and New York, 1905), 61.

21st. We spoke with all the inhabitants here and admonished them that they should yield themselves with the whole heart and soul to the Saviour, which, too, they promised to do. Br. Luckenbach, who pays special attention to the children, keeping school for them, and admonishing them, when necessary, also spoke individually to them, there being 7 in number.

22d. The mother of the Twechtowe family, of her own accord, brought us a present, a piece of rich venison.

24th. The old woman, the mother of the Twechtowe family, came to us and brought the Frenchman along as interpreter and said: "My children say to me, why do you not go often to the teacher, our father, and speak with him for you can do that better than we. You are old and baptized, but we are not yet; you can therefore say to him that we all desire to believe in God, for the teacher has spoken good words to us. They please us and we accept them and wish to hear still more." We expressed our joy at this feeling and promised them to hold a service for them on Sunday in their language. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion, together with our Indian members. The Saviour was very near to us and quickened and comforted our poor hearts.

Sunday, the 25th. Early, at 8 o'clock, thanksgiving liturgy. After that Br. Kluge preached. So many heathen had come that our meeting hut was crowded. They listened attentively. It is a strange sight to look into the faces of these heathen. It is a wonderful sight to see the painted faces of the heathen, ornamented all over with silver; one of them had $80 in silver of various shapes hanging on his person. Then the Twechtowes had their separate meeting and the old Frenchman acted as interpreter. We related to them how the Saviour loves men; that from love of them He became man, and suffered a painful death, thereby to deliver them from the power of sin and Satan, adding: "He also gave His life for you, and also desires to save you, and make of you His children, if you only believe on Him," &c. They listened respectfully and attentively and often exclaimed during the address, "This is true." At the close of the meeting a sheet of paper on which the weekdays and Sundays were marked was given to one of the young men of the Twechtowe family, as he had yesterday asked for it in order to know at all times when it is Sunday. Then Br. Luckenbach held a short service for some Delaware Indians who were sorry to have come too late. We assured them that we were always ready to preach the gospel to all, as often and whenever they wished it. A day like today gives us new courage and causes us to cry unto the Saviour that He will graciously add spirit and fire to the word of His Atonement, preached by us poor mortals, so that all hearts that hear it may show forth God's strength to save all who believe in it. Towards evening the whole Twechtowe family came to Br. Kluge's house, and brought along the old French interpreter. After the oldest of the men had finished smoking his pipe, the old mother began to speak in the name of her children, as follows: "Father, you have already told us many good words over which we all rejoiced, because we believe that everything you told us is the truth and we accept it. Therefore, we say, that we are not going to leave here. Give us a place where we can build our house. We all wish to believe and in time also to bring our friends here whom we left behind." We expressed our pleasure at hearing this and at the same time made our rules and regulations known to them. They were likewise pleased and satisfied with them, promising to obey everything we would tell them, and regard them as good words. Hereupon they all gave us their hands. Our Indian members also came and welcomed them as their friends. Everything passed off very pleasantly. We heartily wish now that they will be converted to the Saviour, and become the reward of His suffering.

26th. A place was given them for a house. Just at present we have an extraordinarily dry spell. It has not rained a drop for nearly three weeks, which troubles us in regard to the fruits of the field. The great heat is the reason that everything is drying up and nothing grows, so that we are anxiously awaiting rain every day so that everything may then revive. Br. Kluge's little son still has fever every day and it weakens the poor child.

27th. Our Twechtowes began building a house of bark, for the present, on the spot given them.

29th. Today they finished it and moved into it at once. Joshua also built a house for himself as he has sold his old one. We white folks have also much to do in outward things, because Br. Luckenbach's house is not yet finished; there are so many other things besides to attend to. Still there is prospect that the many outside labors will come to an end gradually, and we will have it somewhat easier. This week the evening meetings were held after the usual manner.

Sunday, August 1. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time. A few heathen women were present. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

2d. A heathen Indian told us that an Indian living among them said that if the Indians gathered many silver buckles and gave them to him he would soon make it rain. Br. Kluge convinced him of the nonsense of this talk and added: "No one, except God himself, can make it rain. The fellow who told you about the buckles is a big liar; beware of him or he will cheat you."

3d. To our great sorrow we discovered that the above-mentioned Twechtowe family lied to us when they told us frequently they wanted to be converted to God and live here with us. Although we told them more than once that if they wanted to live here on trial, they would have to deny themselves wholly all whisky, above all, and have nothing to do with the drinking of the heathen, much less bring a drop into our village. They promised, too, and pretended to have a horror of the drinking of the heathen. But they soon showed their desire for whisky and that they were nothing less than willing to follow this, in that they dragged 6 gallons of whisky here from near by, during the night, to have a secret spree here. All actually got drunk, and we saw that others had already joined them.

4th. In the morning we therefore went immediately to the Twechtowe family and through Br. Joshua told them that they must leave our village and neighborhood at once, and go with their whisky wherever they wished. We saw for the present they were not at all inclined to abandon these bad habits as they had promised. Fortunately they good-naturedly packed up at once. Otherwise we could not have got them away because we have no power to require it, because the Indians soon say: "This is our land; no one can tell us to leave." This point often gives us much trouble because we have no land of our own. It was only given to us by the chiefs to live on. The chiefs themselves get whisky and sell it to the Indians and are the greatest drunkards themselves. The Indians pay little attention to them, so there is no one to protect us from any disturbance that may happen in our village. If we send such disorderly people away and they go willingly, all is well, but if the contrary is the case, we can do nothing. This case of the above-mentioned Twechtowe family gave us a new proof of how terribly deceitful the Indians can be, and what slaves of sin they are. Very sad also is the behavior of two women who live here and also that of Sr. Catherine's son. He left Goshen and for several years lived among the heathen. In order to worry us with his badness and spitefulness he moved here. These three ran to the heathen in order to get drunk; drunk they returned to our village and behaved like drunken heathen. With much patience we had endured the one woman, Martha, for a long time, but we saw that our admonitions were in vain, for instead of her improving she only became worse.

Sunday, the 8th. Since she had been among the heathen again for a number of days and become drunk, we told her to get out of the place. We were thankful that we got rid of her without any difficulty. After she had gone we discovered that she was not only addicted to whisky but also guilty of all other gross vices of the heathen, and that she was a regular plotter. The drunken heathen do not trouble us, on the whole, as, up to date, none of them have come here in their drunkenness. If only the Indians who live with us would not get drunk we could live undisturbed in our little village.

9th. John Thomas went with his family in a canoe twenty miles away to get the corn which had been given him by one of his relatives.

12th. The Thomas family returned, but the three children all had fever, while the one boy had a kind of dysentery, from which he is at present very sick. Also, Mary, Jacob's wife, was called to her heathen brother who was lying at the point of death, and wished to see her once more. But when she got there he was dead and quite black on his chest. The cause of his death was whisky. Sr. Mary inherited one of his horses.

13th. We reminded ourselves of the gracious visitation during the celebration of Holy Communion in

Berthelsdorf and beseeched Him to favor us with a gracious visitation; we white Christians pledged ourselves to remain true to the cross, to remember the suffering of God, until we see Him face to face. The Saviour palpably comforted our hearts.

Sunday, the 15th. Several heathen listened attentively to the sermon. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

16th. Some heathen visited here. Among them was a family who long ago applied for permission to move here. They stayed overnight and attended the evening service with attentive hearts. At last, today, to our great joy, after a drought of six weeks, we again had a refreshing rain. It revived the parched fields and garden vegetables beautifully.

17th and 18th. We continually had some rain and hard thunderstorms from the east. This is unusual here as they generally come from the west. We heard also that in nearly all the towns the Indians are very sickly, and a number had already died this summer. It seems the inordinate use of whisky is always the cause of their death. An Indian baptized as a child by the Brethren, after a drinking bout lately was taken sick and died. Sr. Mary who is related to him, told us that after his death his neck was quite out of joint. Most of the Indians are quite black on their chests after death. It is greatly to be regretted that so many heathen die off without learning to know God, their Creator, although the Word of God is so near them.

20th. Again a heathen family visited us. The wife had been baptized formerly and her name is Judith.[12] Br. Kluge spoke with them and reminded the woman especially of her baptism and the covenant she had made at that time with the dear Saviour. He told them of Jesus' love for sinners. They were very attentive and the woman began to weep. In leaving Br. Kluge begged them to think diligently about what they had heard of God, our Saviour. They promised to do this and also to return soon again.

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[12] An Indian of this name was born on December 23, 1784, at the mission on the Clinton River in Michigan. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 1:210.

22d. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time, a number of visiting heathen being present. Br. Luckenbach conducted the evening meeting.

24th. Our old Sr. Anna Salome went to Woapicamikunk to get some corn for herself and her children.

28th. We two white brethren were busy plastering Br. Luckenbach's house which was so far completed. The meetings this week were held every evening, as usual, and some of them were attended by visiting heathen. Besides, we never let an opportunity pass without telling the visting heathen of the Saviour as the atonement for our sins.

29th. We reminded ourselves, and especially Br. Luckenbach, of the festival of the Single Brethren's choir and wished Br. Luckenbach and his choir many blessings from the abundance of Jesus' blessings.

30th. Our old Sr. Anna Salome returned and with her came an old Indian widow, Loisa. She had been baptized long ago by the Brethren and has come to live here. She speaks English quite well.

31st. We harvested our tobacco which had turned out quite well, although we had a dry summer.

September 1. In the evening many wolves were heard quite near our village but as soon as they heard the Indian dogs they ran away. These animals are very numerous here, and the Indians do not shoot them, because they believe that it spoils their gun if they shoot a wolf, therefore they are not at all afraid and come during the night to the Indian towns.

2d. We spoke with our Indian members in reference to the Holy Communion and Married People's Festival Day. Their testimony was a comfort insofar that they confessed that they had grieved the dear Saviour frequently by their conduct and loved other things besides

Him. Our old Br. Jacob said among other things, "I am not what I promised the Lord at the time of my conversion. At that time I thought if I only receive forgiveness from the Lord, am baptized and know His will, I will try to fulfill it every day. Now I am often aware that I do not, and that I, myself, am at fault because He does not always occupy my attention and I commune with Him. Thus I find that of myself I can do nothing at all, even if my intentions are ever so good," etc. We comforted him in this connection and begged him always to hold fast to the Saviour, who saved him by His blood, with a feeling of his poverty, as a weak child that cannot do anything of itself, and only desires to live in mercy, &c., &c. In short, all were implored to be sure to be faithful to the Saviour, which, too, they all promised to do by His grace. Widow Loisa, who was baptized by the Brethren in olden times, and who recently moved to us, said: "I am very glad that the Lord has again brought me from the heathen to the congregation of believers. I will not be content only to live here, but in my old age wish to enjoy the Saviour very much and again be forgiven for my sins by Him and by the congregation because I have wandered so long in the wilderness of sin," etc. This poor woman two years ago experienced a great sorrow. She had 3 sons, all of whom were baptized by the Brethren in their youth. Two years ago, one day when they were drunk, one of these brothers, Christian by name,[13] killed his brother on account of a bottle of whisky. All this still troubles the poor woman and is one of the reasons why she seeks the Saviour with her whole heart. She weeps much, asking forgiveness for herself and her children. Another old widow, Salome, who moved here in the spring and has been readmitted into the congregation, begged with tears in her eyes to be readmitted to the

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[13] This is probably the same Indian who was mentioned as being at the New Salem Mission. See Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger*, 1:429; 2:105-6, 119, 130.

Holy Communion. She said: "I am glad to belong again to the congregation where I hear the Word of God every day, but there is still something for which I greatly long, namely, that I might again attain to the enjoyment of the blood of Jesus in Holy Communion, for this privilege always meant a great deal to me, and I always weep when I remember it," &c. She was comforted and urged to yield herself in all things to the Saviour, who at the right time and hour would also grant her this blessing.

3d. In the evening we sang with our little Indian congregation a Passion liturgy, after which a number of heathen women came in order to spend the night here on their journey through our village. They immediately asked Sr. Anna Salome whether there would be a service. When they heard that they had come too late, the oldest of them, who is a captain's wife, said: "That is a pity. I have never heard the Word of God. I should so much like to hear it." When our Indian members told us this, we sent for them and told them, 'It was never too late for us to speak with any one who wished to hear about the Saviour, even if it were in the middle of the night.' Br. Kluge, at their request, related to them that God became man, that He might take upon Himself the burden of our guilt; that the punishment we deserved He took upon Himself, and allowed Himself to be slain in the most cruel manner for us, because there was no other way of salvation for us, than that He should give His life for us unto death; that after He had completed His great suffering He had risen from the dead, ascended into Heaven, &c.; that he who believed on this God and Saviour and yielded himself to Him, shall be saved, and live with Him forever when this life is ended. Furthermore, Br. Kluge said: "All this suffering God endured for us out of great love, so that everyone who wants to be saved may find in Him grace and the forgiveness of sin," and finally begged them that they, too, should accept the good news and surrender to God who has done so much for us from love, so that they too might be happy forever, for he who did not surrender himself to God here in this life and believe on Him with the whole heart, will be lost forever, &c. All this and still more the woman listened to with attention and said: "Those are great words and I will think them over. Perhaps I will soon return and then I will let you know to what conclusion I have come." After this consultation with the Indian woman, and when we were alone once more, in the name of God we employed the lot in regard to the following Indian sisters. He graciously revealed Himself, to our great joy, and gave us to understand that the above-mentioned Loisa should be readmitted into the congregation and the other old sister, A. Salome, to the Holy Communion.

4th. In the morning we announced to these two old sisters their prospective privilege in the congregation, over which they cried for joy. In the evening we had the happy enjoyment of the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion, to the quickening of our poor hearts.

5th. At the usual time, preaching, at which some heathen were present. In the evening at a meeting of the baptized, old Sr. Loisa was readmitted into the congregation.

6th. In the evening the three married couples had a separate meeting in preparation for their festival tomorrow.

7th. Married People's Covenant Day. In spirit we joined with this dear choir in the congregations in earnest petitions to the Saviour that He should also bless us here and be in our midst. At 8 o'clock in the morning, morning prayer of the festival. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, love feast, at which the children of the members were present as guests. Br. Luckenbach accompanied the singing with the violin. After this there was a special service of worship. In all these meetings the dear Saviour graciously revealed Himself to us, His poor ones, and filled our hearts with His comfort and joy.

8th. Some of our people began to harvest their corn and although it was a dry summer, it was pretty good. We white people began to top our corn.

9th. Today and the following days many Indians passed through our place on their way to Chief Tedpachsit who has prepared a great heathen festival and has invited all the heathen to it. This festival takes place every year at the time of corn harvest. According to their ideas no one should eat of his planted corn till this sacrificial festival is past, otherwise the worms will eat it or it will not grow well any more. For these heathen horrors, hunters are sent out who must procure a certain number of bears and deer. To this a large quantity of whisky is added. Then they begin to eat and drink, and dance day and night.[14] The most pitiful feature about all this is that the blind, idolatrous heathen pretend to offer all their heathen sacrifices, with all the dreadful wickedness connected with the same, to God.

11th. Sr. Kluge had fever for the first time very severely. After she had four attacks it again disappeared and we rejoiced that it had disappeared for this year but we were mistaken, as may be seen.

12th. Preaching at the usual time.

13th. Today and the following days there was a very hard frost in the night. Everything was frozen solid. During the day the weather was gray and cold so that a fire felt comfortable in our room.

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[14] The following description of the corn dance is quoted in Jedidiah Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War . . . on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, Conn., 1822), 105-6: "The principal festival is celebrated in the month of August; the precise time is fixed by the head Chief and the counsellors of the town, and takes place sooner or later, as the state of the affairs of the town, or the forwardness of the corn, will admit. It is called *the green corn dance*, or, more properly speaking, 'the ceremony of thanksgiving for the first fruits of the earth.' It lasts from four to twelve days, and in some places resembles a large camp meeting. The Indians attend from all quarters, with their families, their tents, and provisions, encamping around the council house, or house of worship. The animals killed for the sacrifice are cleaned, the

14th. We white people began to gather our corn.

16th. The Indian brethren helped us. These days we also took in part of our cabbages and salted them for the winter. Our cabbage is very fine this year, so that we have plenty, sour and fresh, for the winter. At this time of harvest the meetings were held nearly every evening after the usual manner, as often as it was possible.

20th. We heard of an opportunity of sending letters through an Indian to Goshen, so we stopped our field work in order to write letters. Hardly had we finished writing and attending to various domestic affairs when Sr. Kluge and our little Charles Frederick had a very severe attack of fever at the end of this month. The worst feature of it was that Sr. Kluge, with every attack, had very severe vomiting spells, during which she threw up very often large pieces of blood, which distressed us not a little as we could not consult a doctor. In such distressing circumstances we could only call upon the Saviour, who has often comforted and always helped us at the right time. This we also experienced on this occasion. After Sr. Kluge had the fever after the abovementioned manner for a number of days, and it became worse as it progressed, although she was very weak, Br. Kluge resolved to give her an emetic, which he had done once before, right in the beginning, but had not had the desired effect. This time, however, the emetic did good work, and stopped not only the terrible vomiting but also

heads, horns, and entrails, are suspended on a large white pole, with a forked top, which extends over the roof of the house.—The women having prepared the new corn and provisions for the feast, the men take first some of the new corn, rub it between their hands, then on their faces and breasts, and they feast, the great Chief having first addressed the crowd, thanking the Great Spirit for the return of the season, and giving such moral instruction to the people, as he thinks proper for the time. . . . In former times, the festival was held in the highest veneration, and was a general amnesty, which not only absolved the Indians from all punishment for crimes, murder only excepted, but seemed to bury guilt itself in oblivion."

lessened the fever, and gradually she lost it entirely and nothing remained but great weakness. While Sr. Kluge had the fever so badly Br. Luckenbach had it very severely every day. After he had it for a week, it disappeared again. Then Br. Kluge had three attacks but they were not severe ones. It was remarkable to us that always one or the other of us remained well to nurse the sick and to attend to the household duties. We realized this with many thanks toward our dear Saviour, who ordained it so that we were not all lying sick at the same time. Then our distress would have been still greater. Although we did not have fever for a long time, this was a very malignant fever, more so than we had ever had before; we were all very weak so that we looked as if we had been sick for a month. We were now convinced that the fever along the whole river was epidemic because, just at this time, it raged in every Indian town. Other fatal diseases were added to it, so that many heathen died this fall. Our Indian members, one after the other, have almost all had the fever. By the middle of October we, as well as the Indian brethren and sisters, were all pretty well again. During this time of sickness we were visited a number of times by passing heathen. We preached the Saviour to them in the daily evening services as much as sickness would allow. Among these visiting heathen there was one whom we had met on our overland journey. It was in the woods and he had a great quantity of whisky so that, at that time, he and other heathen were very disagreeable to us on account of their drinking, in that he raged like a wild beast in the woods, near us. Now he came to hear the Word of God and acted very modest and bashful. Br. Kluge acquainted him with God's will and told him what the Saviour from love to men had done and suffered; that all who believed on Him should not be lost but inherit eternal life, and begged him that he, too, should surrender himself to God, his Creator, and believe on Him. This wild Indian listened attentively to everything and then said:

"These are all great words and they please me. I will tell you what I intend to do. I will now first go hunting so that I can pay my debts. Then I will come back to you and live with you, be converted to the great God and accept His words." Br. Kluge begged him to think diligently of what he had heard of God and carry out his resolution.

FOURTH QUARTER

October 13. In the evening we communicants had a separate meeting.

14th. We talked to all our communicant members preparatory to Holy Communion. Though we had reason to feel sad in regard to the walk and conduct of some of our Indian members, their testimony at the preparatory service was after all comforting again, because they humbly acknowledged their sins and professed themselves to be thirsting after grace. It is to be regretted that they so soon forget everything, and this is the reason that no complete and lasting results are obtained, for their conduct is so changeable.

16th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion to the quickening of our poor hearts, the Saviour being very near to us.

17th. After the thanksgiving liturgy came the sermon, at which several visiting heathen were present. During the afternoon some heathen arrived on a visit. As they wished to attend a service the bell was rung at once, and a meeting was held at which they listened attentively. After the same they returned to their towns. Also the Indian captain Alemi arrived last night. He said he was now going to begin his journey to Philadelphia by way of Goshen and that he would take our letters along to Goshen. Accordingly we wrote letters till midnight and packed them up. He also, at our request, promised to go to Bethlehem in order to visit our brethren there.

18th. After breakfast with us he started from here. Some days later we heard that old Captain Pakantschiles had laid down his office and that another had been elected in his place. The latter, with Mr. Conner, an English-speaking trader who goes with him as interpreter, together with Alemi, is making this journey to Philadelphia in order to present himself to the members of Congress as the successor of Pakantschiles.[15] Mr. Conner, the trader, was baptized, as a child, by the Brethren and grew up among the Indians. His parents lived in olden times in the Indian congregation on the Muskingum.

19th. We heard that fever and other sicknesses are still prevalent among the heathen. Many have died. For this reason the Delaware chiefs are greatly excited, that this year so many Indians have been carried away by death, resulting from sickness. After much had been deliberated on the subject in the council meetings, in an attempt to discover the cause, some superstitious heathen came to the conclusion that perhaps the Christian Indians were the cause, for the reason that before the Word of God was preached here among them not so many heathen Indians had died. But the chiefs have come upon another reason, namely, that two old Indian women, one from the Nantikok and the other from the Mingoe nation,[16] are the cause of it, because they are reported to have said that they wished to harm the Delaware nation. The chiefs alleged that these two women, in the form of night owls, flew about at night over all the Indian towns and bewitched all the Indians, and brought into them a fatal malady. It was therefore resolved that the chief of the Mingoe nation should have these two women burnt. But as he was not at home, they could not await his return and commissioned a Schawano to kill the two women before they could bring any more sickness upon them. The Schawano accepted the commission very willingly and murdered the women with his tomahawk.

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[15] According to the Goshen Diary, twelve Indians, a deputation from eleven tribes, arrived at Goshen November 14, 1802, with John Conner. They remained until November 18. Long Beard, an Indian opposed to the policies of Little Turtle and Richardville and distrusted by Harrison, was authorized to act for eight tribes. The other members of the party are not named. The Indians requested Brother Mortimer of the Goshen Mission to draw up for them from notes of a council on White River made by John Conner, a written instrument for presentation to the President, a procedure which the missionaries remarked upon as a departure from their usual dependence upon oral messages. The Delawares, Munsee, and Nanticoke united in a plea that the government put an end to the importation of whisky into their country, stating that twenty murders had taken place on White River in the last twelve months as a consequence of drunkenness. Goshen Diary, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem. The Indians also protested against the agreement made between Harrison and certain chiefs in September. See *post,* 214-15.

20th and 21st. We saw many Indians hunting, which happens every year at this time so that one meets no Indians in their towns at present, and not until spring, when some come home to plant. Yet most of the men customarily return home from the hunt in midsummer. The Indian evening meetings were held this week in the usual manner. We white brethren read in the evening to the blessing of our hearts Br. Risler's Historical Extracts from the Old Testament, and when we were finished with that we began reading the Brethren's History.[17]

23d. During the night a healthy daughter was born to Br. John and Sr. Catherine Thomas.

Sunday, the 24th. After the sermon the little girl was baptized in Jesus' death and received the name Charlotte. In the afternoon our old Br. Jacob suddenly became very sick from the old wound in his chest and he had fever besides. Last week we experienced a great grief from the Indian woman Martha, who had been baptized many years ago by the Brethren and who had moved here last year. She pretended that she wished to be converted again and remain in the congregation as long as she lived. But she soon changed her mind and forgot all she had promised. Especially this summer she took to her former evil ways by drinking like the heathen. Wherever she heard that there was whisky she would go in a hurry. She hereby fell into all the sins and vices of the heathen. We continually admonished her in order to save her, if yet possible. She promised every time we spoke to her to mend her ways, but in a short time she returned to her sinful life. All was in vain in her case. Some weeks ago she became very sick and returned quite weak and ill, begging earnestly for permission to move into her house again. A few days afterwards her heathen friends came to see her. Among them was a Delaware chief, Hockingponska, who is a great witch doctor. After her heathen friends had gone, she asked the Indian members to call Br. Kluge as she said she wished now to speak openly of all her sins. Br. Kluge at the request visited her at once. She acknowledged her sins very penitently and said among other things: "Oh, if I could only receive forgiveness for my sins from the Saviour and the congregation I would not behave this way again all my lifetime. I would be obedient to the teachers." Br. Kluge pointed her affectionately to the Saviour as the friend of poor sinners and assured her that the Saviour had also given His life for the unfaithful and had gifts for them, &c. We rejoiced and thought that perhaps now she was in earnest and that she would be at last snatched like a brand from the fire. But alas the next day her heathen friend, the witch doctor mentioned before, returned, and she allowed him to bewitch her secretly in a cornfield. We heard this, to our grief, from Sr. Mary. She did not return to our village till she was quite well and then, ashamed of her lying, left us of her own free will. This was a dreadful proof to us of the astonishing hypocrisy of the Indians.

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[16] James Mooney mentions the fact that the Mingo, a detached band of the Iroquois, had settled on the upper Ohio River in the neighborhood of the Shawnee and Delawares prior to 1750. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* 1:867-68. Apparently a part of the tribe had followed the Shawnee and Delawares into Indiana Territory. Many of the Nanticoke, a tribe linguistically and ethnically connected with the Delawares, had emigrated to the West about 1784. *Ibid.,* 2:24-26.

[17] The volume in question was probably David Cranz's *Alte und Neue Brüder-Historie,* published in 1771.

26th. Some heathen women visited here and as they stayed overnight, they attended the evening service. The weather these days has been very cold and stormy. It rained almost incessantly.

28th. Our old Frenchman's wife who is of the Pottowattami nation begged us very much, as she has already done several times, to be baptized. She said: "I do not know how soon I may die and I do not wish to go to the Devil, but to the good God who loves mankind so much. As long as I am well, therefore, and alive, I wish to be baptized. Although I understand little of the Delaware language spoken at church, I can hear enough of the Word of God through my husband, who translates everything you say," etc. Br. Kluge related to her what the dear Saviour from love of poor man had done, and spoke to her about the meaning of baptism. To the question, whether she believed that the Saviour had also died for her sins and that alone through faith in Him and His meritorious death she wished to and could be saved; whether she renounced the Devil and all his works with her heart, and surrendered herself to the Saviour who purchased her with His blood and would be obedient to Him, she replied: "I believe all you tell me of the good Lord as if He said it to me Himself. I believe also that nothing else can save me and bring me to God but His great love, that He also died for me. I am ready to abandon all that the heathen believe and be obedient to the good God and you," etc. She was then admonished to ask God to grant her request to be baptized.

29th. A rather old widow arrived with her granddaughter and stayed several days. She attended the evening services and listened attentively.

Sunday, the 31st. After the sermon this widow started for her home, 12 miles from here down the river. But when she reached the first Indian town 4 miles from here, she turned back, and came into our village again. She told the Indian sisters she could not go home in peace, because she always felt that she ought to stay with the Christian Indians and also believe on God. On that account she had returned and wished to ask for permission to remain here. Br. Kluge spoke with her about Jesus' love for sinners, and said that if it was her earnest desire to hear the Word of God, and she was willing to surrender herself to God, her Creator, who had also died for her, then she would find this the right place to live, and we would receive her in that case with joy and tell her much about God. To this she answered: "Yes, that I desire to do, and I will seek for nothing else but to go some day to the good and great God, where my mother is. She believed in the great God and was baptized in olden times by the teachers. Her name was Erdmuth. All her life she remained with the Christian Indians. She died there, and I also wish all this. I have a son and a daughter. I will tell them my intention, begging them also to move to the believers and be converted. If they do so, I will be glad, but if not I will cut loose from them entirely and remain here alone," etc. Br. Kluge admonished her to remain faithful to her resolution, and that she should not be turned from it by anything, as her eternal well-being and salvation depended upon it. This she promised to do.

November 1. She brought all her household goods here. The Indian couple Jacob and his wife emptied for her a hut they did not need, until we see further what we may expect of her. In addition to the Indian meetings which were held every evening, we white people read of an evening Br. Risler's Historical Extracts from the books of the Old Testament, to the blessing of our hearts, and when we were finished with those we began to read in like manner the Brethren's History. From the beginning of this month till the 9th we had fine warm weather without change, then it began to rain. We are very thankful to the dear Saviour that we white and brown members are all quite well, except Sr. Catherine, who is seriously ill since her child came; Br. and Sr. Kluge's little son also still has attacks of fever. He also has a hardening as large as a hand on his abdomen. It can not be seen, but can readily be felt. This gives us concern for the poor child, because we can ask no one for advice.

8th. Br. Kluge had some business at the Indian town of Owenachki 8 miles away. On this occasion he also visited the two Delaware chiefs Tedpachsit and Hockingponska. They expressed themselves and showed themselves to be much pleased with the visit. Br. Kluge returned in the evening. Br. Luckenbach was busy these days with his house. He put up the door and attended to other things still lacking in order to get into shape for the winter. In all our work both physical and spiritual we faithfully help each other, and the dear Saviour is very gracious to us and always helps us.

9th. In the evening Sr. Catherine had Br. Kluge called to her side and said: "I do not believe that I will recover from my confinement, but will die. For a number of days already I have been concerned about myself and my conduct hitherto, but I could not speak frankly about it, because I was at the same time very much afraid that I might die. But now I feel that I can reveal my whole heart to the Saviour and pray to Him," etc. Thereupon she related, amid many tears, where she had grievously sinned against the Saviour, and also led her children to do the same, and that she had done everything in secret, and always played the hypocrite toward us and lied to us. Although we had frequently admonished and warned her in much love, she had not turned away from it, but ever continued her sinning in secret, on account of which she now had fear and anguish, and therefore begged us and the congregation, with all her heart, for pardon, when she had proved a hindrance and an offense, &c. All this was accompanied by many tears. Br. Kluge kindly pointed her to the dear Saviour as the friend of poor sinners, prayed with her and begged her not to rest until she had the assurance of the peace of God and the feeling of His grace in her heart, "for this is a happy hour which the Saviour gave, and lets you feel painfully all your sins, so that you will turn to Him and will let yourself be thoroughly cleansed from all your sins. From this you can see His great love for you, for He does not want you to be eternally lost but that you may be saved" &c. Though it pained us greatly to hear this sister confess the many terrible sins which she committed in secret, we also found cause to thank the dear Saviour heartily for showing Himself so gracious, and used this opportunity to save the poor Indian sister from destruction and to bring her thoroughly to her senses. We hope and pray that the dear Saviour will graciously convict her husband also, for he is in a bad way. On the whole, this family has given us much heartfelt sorrow. We rejoice all the more, therefore, that the Saviour helps us by His Spirit: here, where we could do nothing further, and everything was in vain, that He Himself by His Spirit stirred her hard heart, and caused her to be alarmed over her sinful condition.

12th. Old Sr. Loisa returned from her old home quite sick. She had gone there to gather her corn and bring it here. But when she began to work she had such a severe attack of fever that she was prevented from continuing. The Indian cows ate up what she had gathered and what was still standing so that she had nothing and, in Indian fashion, was as poor as could be. When she complained to the Indians whose cows had eaten up her corn and asked them to give her an indemnity for the same, they threatened her with death if she did not leave immediately. Sr. Loisa knows of many medicinal plants which she hunted at once and gave them to sick Sr. Catherine. They had the desired effect at once and in a few days she was out of danger and soon recovered nicely.

Sunday, the 14th. After the sermon, in the presence of some visiting heathen women, Br. Kluge baptized in Jesus' death our old Frenchman's wife of the Pottowattemi nation, and gave her the name of Theresia. All present, both the members and the heathen visitors, were very attentive and much moved by the solemn act. The gracious presence of God was strongly felt during the entire service. We thanked the Lord with humble hearts for this, the first fruit from the Pottowattemi nation, and pray that through her, in His own good time, others of her nation may be converted to the Saviour and become a reward of His sufferings. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

15th. and the following days our Indians were busy making raccoon traps in the woods. As our old Indian brethren are too feeble to hunt big game they try to support themselves by catching raccoons and beavers. The Indian evening meetings were held this week in the usual manner. During these days the weather was unusually warm.

21st. The warm weather lasted until today, when we had a long spell of rain, after which it began to freeze during the night of the 23d.

24th. In the evening the communicants had a separate meeting.

25th. The talk preparatory to the approaching Holy Communion, at which we had the pleasure of hearing all our communicant members confess themselves frankly as penitent sinners, and eager for a new measure of grace from the Saviour and for the enjoyment of His blood. It was evident to our cheer and encouragement that the dear Saviour hears our poor prayers, which we often pour into His faithful heart in behalf of our poor Indian brethren and sisters.

26th. In the evening we sang with our little Indian congregation an Indian translation of a Passion liturgy.

27th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion, in a blessed way, the Saviour being very near to us.

First of Advent, the 28th. In the morning we had a thanksgiving liturgy with our communicants. After that Br. Kluge preached on "The Saviour's Entrance into Jerusalem." As is usually the case on Sundays, a number of heathen women were attentive listeners. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

29th. Most of our Indians went to the woods for 20 days to catch raccoons and also to hunt, because none of us have had a bite of meat for a long time. During this month Br. Luckenbach again began school for the children. It is very elementary, as they are all very ignorant. Yet we try as much as possible to teach the children in the hope that perhaps, in time, the aim of our being here may be attained with them also.

December 1. It began to snow and continued till the 3d, so that the snow lay a foot deep in the woods. Then it froze hard so that the deep snow not only remained but it was very cold as well. We had all we could do in keeping ourselves supplied with fuel. It is very fortunate that we have a large quantity of wood near our village, because one burns a terrible amount of wood in the fireplaces, and if one does not sit near the fire, one cannot do anything in the room on account of the cold, because the warmth does not circulate at all in the room. As nearly all our Indian members are away hunting, we missionaries, with a few old women, were quite alone in our village. As no Indian evening meetings could be held at this time, in consequence, we white brethren read for ourselves the life of the departed Zinzendorf to the blessing of our hearts.[18]

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[18] This was probably Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg's *Leben des Herrn Nicholaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf* published in three volumes, 1772-1775. This and other works relating to the Moravian activities were published at this period in Barby in Prussia where in 1749 the brotherhood had established its communion.

7th. The Indian Br. Joshua returned from the hunt; he had got a sore foot so that he was hindered in hunting. He had only shot a deer and made several raccoon traps.

8th. We began again with the Indian meetings and continued with them as usual. The cold continued unbroken. The Indians who have lived for 8 years on this river do not recall such cold weather and so much snow. We have to put our cows into the stable at night and feed them. This is unusual in this neighborhood. We are very glad that we have so much provision for them.

11th. Four young Twechtowe Indians came into our village with venison which they wished to exchange for corn. Mr. Gordon from Fort Hamilton also arrived. He usually supplies us with flour. This time, on account of the deep snow and severe cold, it took him 9 days for the journey from Hamilton to the first Indian town Woapicamikunk. At other times he makes the trip in 3 or 4 days. He and his horses almost succumbed and suffered greatly from cold and hunger in the woods.

12th. Preaching service at the usual time and in the evening Br. Luckenbach led the meeting.

13th. The cold has increased so that everything in our room was frozen solid.

15th. It began to snow hard again and the snow lay 1½ ft. deep on the level.

17th. Our old Br. Jacob returned from the hunt. Although he is old and weak he shot two deer and two bears. John Thomas who went out from here daily on the hunt has shot, during this time, many deer and a young bear. We are very glad for this, as our Indians are very poor. In this way they can provide the necessary clothing for themselves.

19th. A number of heathen listened attentively to the sermon.

20th. The weather changed and it began to rain hard, so that the snow melted very considerably.

21st. It began to freeze again. The water that has been running everywhere into our room, cellar and church became solid and stopped running.

22d and 23d. All gathered for the Christmas Eve celebration. There were also many heathen women here.

24th. Our Indian members were busy baking corn bread for the love feast. In the evening we rejoiced with our Indian members at a love feast in honor of the incarnation of our Saviour Jesus Christ. There were 15 heathen women and children present. At the opening of the service we read the history of the birth of our Saviour, then a short address in reference to it. After this on our knees in prayer we thanked our Saviour for his incarnation and for all our salvation gained through the same. His presence was perceptibly with us. Now we held the love feast and Br. Luckenbach distributed 20 little candles among the children. The faces of the Indian children shone brightly, and with the burning lights in hand the children sang alone the following verses translated into Indian: "Let us feast on the joys," "O Christmas Eve," and "His Suffering" &c. The service came to a close by all singing a verse together. Now all returned very happy to their homes.

25th. Christmas Day. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached on the birth of our dear Saviour, according to the gospel lesson for the day. Our church was quite filled with hearers. In the evening Br. Luckenbach led the meeting.

26th. We also had a preaching service and an evening meeting, which all heathen present listened to attentively.

27th. We heard many cheering expressions from the heathen who had attended the Christmas services. We only wish from our hearts that they may retain a lasting blessing from them and turn from their sins to God, our Saviour. This is our continual prayer and cry to the Saviour. Today it again began to rain hard so that the ice on the White River broke up and the water rose very high.

28th. The water continued to rise, so that the low land was under water, but our planting land was not flooded, although the water was much higher than last spring.

29th. It began to freeze so that the water again fell gradually.

30th. Our Indians brought us some wood for fuel, which was very welcome. At such a time one of the Indian assistant brethren with a loud voice calls all the others together. Then old and young chop wood for some time and bring it to our yard and we thank them then.

31st. Many heathen women and children came to the closing service of the year. As they had seen that our Indian members all bake themselves corn bread for the love feast, they all brought their own bread along. A heathen woman who has been coming every Sunday to the service had baked a large quantity of pancakes and brought them along, which she handed to the Indian sisters for distribution at the love feast. But these hesitated to hand them around at the love feast, so they distributed them among themselves in their houses. At midnight, from want of a bell, Br. Luckenbach blew a clarinet, when all gathered in the church for the closing services. Our church was crowded, as there were more than fifty people in attendance. After singing some verses, Br. Kluge, in a brief address, reminded our Indian brethren of the many gracious favors of God, our Saviour, and of His faithful help of us over which we rejoiced in the year now past. He encouraged them to be truly thankful from their hearts for all good things enjoyed and to ask His forgiveness for all in which they had grieved His faithful heart, &c. All the events that had taken place in our little congregation during the past year were rehearsed. When the clock struck midnight Br. Luckenbach began to play on the clarinet: "Now thank we all the Lord," upon which we fell on our knees with our little congregation, and thanked our dear Saviour most fervently for all tokens of His love and protection, begging His forgiveness for the things with which we grieved Him, and commended ourselves and our station to His further guidance and protection. The Saviour graciously revealed Himself to us, comforted us in regard to everything, raised our courage anew, so that with hearts comforted, we could hope that the Saviour would attain His object in regard to our station and ourselves.

During this past year—1 married couple, 3 widows, 1 Indian woman (Sr. Mary's daughter, who left her heathen husband), and 7 children—altogether *13 persons* have moved here to us from the heathen. Among these are two old widows who were baptized by the Brethren in former times and who were both readmitted, and of these one, A. Salome by name, was readmitted to the Holy Communion.

An Indian woman from the Pottowattemi nation, Theresia by name, was baptized.

One child was born and baptized with the name Charlotte.

Two persons died—1 brother and 1 sister.

One married couple, Martha, frequently referred to, and her husband, an Indian woman with her child, of whom three persons were not yet members, left us.

At the close of the year our congregation consisted of 14 baptized people, namely, 4 couples, 2 widows, 1 older girl, and 3 children.

Among these there are 6 communicant members.

Not baptized or new people, 2 widows and 7 children.

The total number of inhabitants of our village is 23 persons, 7 more than last year.[19]

We herewith greet all our dear brethren in the congregations and commend ourselves and our work to their prayers and remembrance before our dear Saviour.

JOHN P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

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[19] A letter to Loskiel, dated March 20, 1803, gives the number of inhabitants at the close of 1802 as twenty-five.

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FOR THE YEAR 1803

First Quarter

JANUARY 1. Early in the morning the older Indian Christians, as well as the children, came to wish us a happy New Year. We made use of the opportunity to urge them heartily without exception to surrender their hearts to the Lord in the New Year. In the morning at 11 o'clock Br. Kluge preached, and many visiting Indians listened attentively to his sermon. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

2d. At the usual time, the sermon and evening meeting.

3d. In the evening the communicants had a separate meeting in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion, which we intended to enjoy together at the usual time, after Saturday, the 8th, but, since Epiphany comes but two days previous, we decided this time to celebrate the Holy Communion on Epiphany evening, because this festival means a great deal to our Indian Christians.

4th. We interviewed all our Indian Christians and inhabitants, individually, and there was evidence, with most of them, of encouraging traces of the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts. Most of our communicants declared themselves very sinful in their walk hitherto and promised anew to surrender themselves wholly to the Saviour. This state of heart on the part of our Indian Christians was very encouraging to us and renewed our courage, so that we could heartily thank the dear Saviour for His gracious favor to us. He will yet attain to His thoughts of peace in connection with us poor ones. One of our communicant sisters excluded herself from the Holy Communion, and said: "I believe it is better for me not to partake of Communion this time, for I feel so dry in my heart. I have heard frequently that, if one does not have the right desire for the Saviour and His grace, and if one is not in communion with Him, and one after all goes to Holy Communion because one is a communicant, such an one does it to his hurt," etc. Whereupon she was informed that what she had frequently heard in the meetings was true, and that it was well and good that she took it to heart and examined herself to find out how matters stood between her and the Saviour, for that, in truth, is what everyone must do who desires to partake of Communion, but that she should not be satisfied with that and think: "If I don't go to Communion it is all right," but she should beg the dear Saviour from the heart that He grant anew to her heart a vivid feeling of His death and suffering and what He has done for us, etc.

5th. This Indian sister came in tears to Br. and Sr. Kluge and could not find words to express her feeling of sinfulness, and said: "Now I feel all right in my heart, now it seems as if I, too, saw the dear Saviour suffer for me, and He has comforted me in my feeling of dryness. I now greatly long to enjoy His body and blood," etc., whereupon we heartily wished her the blessing of the Saviour.

Epiphany, the 6th. In the morning at 8 o'clock there was morning prayer; at 11 o'clock, the sermon, and in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, love feast. In all these services the dear Saviour was very near unto us. And in the evening we had the happy enjoyment of His body and blood in the Holy Communion to the quickening of our hearts. The dear Saviour regarded us most graciously, so that we wept before Him and penitently rejoiced over our election of grace.

7th. In the evening we used the thanksgiving liturgy.

8th. In the evening a number of Indian children came to Br. Luckenbach and asked him to play on the violin, they wanted to sing. When this was done, a number of adults also came and joined in the singing of the children. Br. Kluge also assisted. In this way, without our prompting it, a song service was held. On this occasion we offered to give instruction in hymn singing to all who desired it as often as they wanted it, whereupon some of our Indian Christians, who as yet can sing but little, said they would enjoy it very much.

9th. The day was spent as usual on a Sunday.

10th. Our Sr. Theresia (the old Frenchman's wife from the Pottowattemi nation) said that she had felt so poor and ignorant, over which she had been very unhappy, that she had prayed to the Saviour and told Him her need, as we, her teachers, had told her to do; that she had consequently beseeched the dear Saviour that He should constantly keep in her heart the remembrance of His death and suffering, and that He should make everything very clear to her because she was so ignorant and forgetful, whereupon she became so lighthearted that she could do nothing but weep, etc. We expressed to her our joy over it and begged her in faith to keep ever near the Saviour; and have real intimate and childlike intercourse with Him; make known to Him all her desires, as a child to its mother, then surely she would be comforted by Him at all times, and enjoy many blessings for her heart, etc.

12th. Two of our families of Indian Christians went across the river to their sugar plantation to build huts for boiling sugar. When they returned to the river on the 15th, they found no canoe because it had been taken by an Indian to another place and we had no canoe on our side either to get them across. The water was so high that they could not ford the river with their horses. As it was already evening, there was, therefore, nothing for them to do but to encamp there for the night, in hunger and cold, before our eyes.

16th. Early this morning the canoe was found 3 miles from our place and brought here, after which the Indian members were paddled over immediately. After they had warmed themselves and appeased their hunger, the preaching service was held. A meeting was held in the evening. We two white men, Brs. Kluge and Luckenbach, were busy this week building a sugar hut for ourselves a mile and a half from here, and got everything ready for boiling sugar so that as soon as the sap of the maple trees begins to run we may make an attempt at boiling sugar for our own use. As sugar is very dear here, we are especially anxious to provide ourselves with it.

17th. Since all of our Indian members are at home again, we began holding the evening meetings after the usual manner. As much as time permitted, we visited in the houses of our Indian brethren to get acquainted with their household affairs, as well as to practice the Indian language at the same time, which our Indian brethren like to have us do.

23d. The day was spent in the usual way.

25th. A trader arrived from Fort Hamilton. To our great joy he brought a small package of letters from Major Ziegler in Cincinnati, in which there was a letter from our dear Br. Loskiel,[1] besides a textbook, a weekly report of the U. E. C. Nos. 26-33, and a monthly report for November, as well as a letter from Br. Heckewelder on the Muskingum and two from Mr. Ziegler himself. All these things, and especially the textbook, created a real festival of joy, and this all the more because we so seldom hear anything of our dear brethren in the congregations, and often feel forsaken in this wilderness, where we are denied so many things.

26th. Today Br. Kluge conveyed the hearty greetings of our dear Br. Loskiel as well as those of our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, to our Indian members, who rejoiced over them.

28th. Indian Br. Joshua shot an eagle quite near our village. It measured 6 feet when the wings were spread out. The Indians call this species *White Tail* because it has a white head and white tail. They also believe that these eagles produce thunder, just as they think that certain night owls are witches.

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[1] George Henry Loskiel, who was educated at Barby, published his *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nord Amerika* in 1789. He became a bishop and upon the death of Bishop Ettwein in 1802 was placed at the head of the religious work in the northern part of North America. He died in 1814 in Bethlehem after having retired from office.

29th. Two Indian girls came 9 miles to us with a small bag of corn bran to get a little piece of *Schwamak,* or white-man's bread, because their grandmother is sick. We gave them a piece of bread because they came such a great distance for it. But we told them not to come such a distance with bran again because we did not buy any. Famine is again felt among the heathen and they buy a peck of corn from each other at $1. The cause of this famine is entirely in consequence of the curse of whisky. For a pint of whisky they give everything they have, even their last bit of corn. Besides they are too lazy to plant much corn and persuade themselves when it is planting time that they do not need a great deal. Then, when hardly half of the winter is past and their corn is exhausted they are in the greatest distress. Even our Indian members planted too little so that the most of them have no more.

Sunday, the 30th. There was preaching at the usual time. During the service a terrible snowstorm arose so that no meeting could be held in the evening. In the afternoon wild turkeys came quite near our houses, of which the Indian brethren shot but one, however. Because our Sister Theresia of the Pottowattemi nation understands very little Delaware Indian in the meeting, we often give her private instruction and tell her what has been said in the regular service. Her husband, the old Frenchman, translates it for her and she is always much pleased. This evening Br. Luckenbach repeated the main parts of the sermon, and upon the question whether she was happy at heart and felt God's peace in her heart, she answered: "Oh, yes! I feel like a new person since my baptism, and I always rejoice when I think of God, what He has done in and for me, that He brought me here where I can always hear His word. I beg Him constantly that He should help me further, and keep me close by His side, so that I might never forget Him," etc.

February 1. Our two Indian brethren, Joshua and Jacob, started for an Indian town 15 miles away to look for corn as their own is about used up.

2d. Br. John Thomas and his wife went with their children to their sugar plantation to hunt there, as they said, because they, too, are short in corn.

3d. It was extremely cold again. Toward evening Joshua and Jacob returned. They had each with much difficulty got two bushels of corn, because there is a corn famine on all sides among the Indians. Joshua related that he had had an opportunity to tell some of the Indians of the dear Saviour. Several rejoiced at what he told them and thanked him for the great words.

4th. The cold weather suddenly changed to thaw weather and in the night from the 5th to 6th we had a heavy thunderstorm with rain. In the night of the 7th we experienced the most dreadful thunderstorm since we have been here. During the day the usual service was held.

7th and 8th. We two missionaries were busy on our sugar plantation. It is 1½ miles from here. We bored the sugar trees to have everything ready for boiling sugar. We heard to our great sorrow that Martha, an Indian woman baptized by the Brethren in former times, had sold all of her 11 bushels of corn and all her belongings to buy whisky. She then sat down and drank so long that, during her drinking, she gave up the ghost and fell over dead. This was all the more painful to us, as the summer we came here she moved to us and promised to surrender herself anew to the Saviour. Faithfully we looked after her and did everything in our power to keep and protect her from drinking whisky and win her for the Lord. Her good intentions and promises were unfortunately of short duration. When she saw that she could not continue undisturbed in her sins, as she was accustomed, and not having the least desire to be delivered from them, but preferring to be the slave of sin, she left us again and resumed her sins and abominations.

Now, alas, her end came in the horrible manner against which we had often warned her.

9th. and the following days the maple sap flowed so abundantly that we were able to boil 36 lbs. of sugar, this week.

10th. All our Indians went to their sugar plantations 3 miles away, where they are busy boiling sugar. Consequently no meetings were held during the week. Their sugar plantation being three miles away from here they come home for Sundays only. They finally returned on Sunday 13th, when Br. Kluge preached on the words: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." Ezek. 33:11. Also I Tim. 2:4. A young Indian who arrived just before the service listened most attentively to the sermon. Afterwards he related to Br. Joshua that one night last summer he was taken for dead. The Indians had already dressed him according to their heathen custom and had laid him on a board, but he had not been really dead but had only been in the Devil's home. There he saw that the Devil gave all the Indians who came to him something bitter to drink, which empowered them to do all manner of things. To him, however, he did not want to give anything, and threw him out of the house and said: "Away with you! You are too ignorant." Thereupon he woke up again and marvelled that the Indians regarded him as dead. Br. Joshua told him he should turn to God and yield himself to Him alone, so that he would not some day actually go to the Devil, whereupon he answered: "Yes, I heard many good words concerning God, in the meeting, and I want to think them over." Today we had the misfortune of losing our best cow, which had given birth to a calf but three weeks ago. For this we are very sorry. It is a great loss to our household. We fed this cow well all winter long and took the best care of her, consequently we don't know at all what caused her death.

14th. It began again to freeze hard, so that we were hindered from boiling sugar, because the trees yield their sap in mild weather only. Because this week was so cold that we could not make sugar, we improved this time by chopping wood for fuel, which has been our daily task all winter long, in that we could scarcely drag together as much as we need, and with it all, if we did not sit almost all of the time at the fireside, we nearly froze our feet. Our houses are very airy, a better protection against the rain than against the cold. If one builds a large log fire in the chimney pot, hardly any warmth is felt in the room when it is as cold as it has been this winter, unless one sits near the fire, where one almost burns the face while one's back is cold.

17th. Our Indian members came home from their sugar camps for the preparatory service before Holy Communion, at which time much that was sad showed itself among some of our brethren, on account of quarrels. Because there has been so much of this quarreling in a short time and those taking part in it were unwilling to be reconciled to one another, sad to say, the result this time was that three were suspended from the Communion.

19th. In the evening we had the happy enjoyment of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the quickening of our hearts. The Saviour was very real to us and permitted us to feel His peace.

20th. Early in the morning we had the thanksgiving liturgy, after which, at the usual time, the sermon was preached. Since the cold has moderated and the weather was quite favorable for sugar making, all of our Indian members hastened back to their sugar camps, so that we white people were once more all alone at home.

21st. We heard all sorts of war rumors. The first thing we heard was this: that some Indian nations, among which are said to be the Chickasaw and Cherokee, had sold to the white people the land on the White River belonging to the Delawares, and now wanted to begin an

Indian war with the Delawares, Monseys, Twechtowe and Schawano, who also have a share in this land, with the object of driving them from the land in order to give it into the hands of the white people.[2] This rumor is persistent among the Indians. Br. Joshua told us of another unpleasant rumor of war. He related that the Delaware chief and the great Captain Pakantschiles had told him recently that the Delaware and Monsey Indians were very angry at the Five Nations and had their eyes on them, because they had recently made an image of them and had dressed it like a woman and adorned it very nicely with silver and said: "You Delawares and Monseys, we adopt you as our sister or daughter; you shall be a great woman and always sit still, and when war arises anywhere among the Indians and the great woman rises, all shall look upon her and separate."[3] They told Joshua, too, that since war had broken out they had stripped them of their woman's clothes and taken away from them the feminine ornaments and had placed a wedge in their hand and had shaved their head in place of it. "This," said they, "we have not forgotten yet. When we look upon our body we find so many scars and stripes we always think, 'the Five Nations have struck us.' When we look about us and see peace everywhere, we think, 'What then shall we do with the wedge?' It then occurred to us that it would be best to throw it at the head of the Five Nations, because they have given it to us. This summer they will regret that they gave us the wedge," etc. To what extent there is any ground for this report time will tell. Meanwhile we have no fears on account of these rumors and we commend ourselves to the faithful protection of our Saviour.

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[2] In September, 1802, members of the Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Eel River, Wea, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskia tribes gathered at Vincennes, upon invitation of Governor Harrison, and empowered four of their chiefs to make a treaty the following year relinquishing land in the neighborhood of Vincennes. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:56-57. Buckongahelas protested to President Jefferson and received as a reply that the United States wanted only "a Bargain fairly made and perfectly understood." This preliminary agreement was not accepted by all the tribes, and at Fort Wayne the following summer Harrison had great difficulty in consummating the treaty which gave to the United States 1,152,000 acres of land. No money was paid for this land on the theory that the treaty merely marked the boundaries of the grant made by the Indians at the Treaty of Greenville. Dorothy Burne Goebel, *William Henry Harrison. A Political Biography* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, vol. 14, Indianapolis, 1926), 102-4; Dawson, *William Henry Harrison*, 47-50; Jefferson's address to the Indians, January 8, 1803, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (memorial ed., 20 vols., Washington, D. C., 1903-1904), edited by Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh, 16:396-400.

[3] The Delawares, during the eighteenth century, were known among the Six Nations as "the women," and were held to be subordinate to them. At the Pennsylvania Treaty of 1742, a chief of the Six Nations, in speaking to the dissatisfied Delaware Indians respecting the Minisink Walking Purchase, said: "Cousins: Let this Belt of Wampum serve to Chastize You; You ought to be

22d-26th. We had good weather all the time for sugar making. The sap flowed faster than ever before, so that we made 50 pounds of good sugar for ourselves alone this week.

27th. Our Indian members came home to spend the Sabbath and Br. Kluge preached at the usual time on "The petition of Jesus to His Heavenly Father: 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.'" Luke 23:34. He dwelt especially upon the great love of Jesus for sinners, so that He prayed for their peace even while on the cross. After the sermon all of the Indians returned again to their sugar camps.

28th. It began to snow fast but the snow did not remain on the ground longer than two days. This month has been very cold on the whole. We heard recently that in an Indian town an Indian maiden, with a little child on her back, went on the ice and remained on it so long, that the child, which she had bound, Indian fashion, on

taken by the Hair of the Head and shak'd severely.... We conquer'd You. We made Women of you, you know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* . . ., 4 (Harrisburg, 1851): 579.

her back, froze to death without her finding it out until a grown-up Indian took the stiff-frozen child from her back.

March 2. Today we heard that the trader in Woapicamikunk, Mr. Connor, who had gone with some Indians to Philadelphia as interpreter, had returned from there and that he had brought several letters from Lititz, over which we were very happy.

4th. The Indian Br. Joshua left for Woapicamikunk to get the letters mentioned, and came back again on the 7th.

9th. We had beautiful warm weather so that all hands went at sugar making again. Because the warm weather continued, the sugar making was over for good by the end of the week, in that the sap of the sugar trees no longer flowed, for which reason we white people closed up our sugar making for the year. We made for ourselves alone 180 pounds, for which we are heartily grateful to our dear Heavenly Father.

13th. Br. Kluge preached on the word which Jesus spoke to the thief on the cross: "Verily, I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in paradise."—Luke 23:43.

14th. We heard that Mr. Gordon had arrived in Woapicamikunk, and as this man from time to time provides us with flour, and we just now were greatly in need of the same, Br. Luckenbach went there on the 15th to see if the afore-mentioned Mr. Gordon had any flour for us, but did not get to see him in person; we heard, however, that the frequently mentioned Mr. Gordon would in a short time bring us flour. Nevertheless, this journey was not altogether in vain, for Br. Luckenbach found a letter for us from Br. Van Vleck, with a trader, and brought it along. Greatly as we rejoiced over it, we were sorry to learn from it that Br. Van Vleck had in October already sent letters and monthly and weekly reports, for up to date we have not received any of them. As it seems, all must have been lost.

20th. Br. Kluge preached on the words of Jesus from the cross: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Mark 15:34.

22d. In the afternoon, the old Delaware Chief Tedpachsit on his way through our village with one of his wives—for he has two—visited in the house of Br. and Sr. Kluge. His wife[4] presented our little Carl Fried. with some children's toys which the old Chief had brought back with him from the land of the white people, and said that she loved the white children. We made the most of the opportunity to talk over various matters with the Chief in regard to the Indians and their conversion. We extended to him the greetings of the dear brethren in the congregations and told him all of them constantly prayed to God that the Indians, too, should be converted to God from their heathenism, and believe on the God who had created them and be delivered from the power of Satan by His blood. We also called his attention to the fact that the Indians make themselves very unhappy with their terrible whisky drinking, and how good it would be if they would seek earnestly to get rid of this unfortunate strong drink. To all of this he listened attentively and endorsed it with the words: "Yes, Brother, that is true." And he added: "We hope whisky will be done away with. We chiefs have made up our minds to break the barrels of anyone who brings whisky into our towns." That the latter is not his true intention we could see with our own eyes, for his wife had two small barrels of whisky covered over and bound to the back of her horse and rode with them to the lower towns. From this we can see clearly that they will surely not do away with whisky among the Indians unless the government puts an end to this nuisance.

23d. Early in the morning two Schawano Indians from the Mississippi came through our village and called at the house of Br. and Sr. Kluge. We learned that they had been 20 nights (they reckon everything by nights) on the way.

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[4] The taking of this second wife, a young woman, was later partly responsible for his destruction at the hands of his son by his first wife. See *post*, 622.

25th. Our Indian Br. Jacob and Sr. Mary came back sick from their sugar camp. The old Br. Jacob had injured his eye on a pointed branch in the woods, so that the same was quite swollen and really looked very bad, which made us feel very sorry for this old Indian brother. His wife, Sr. Mary, was afflicted with a large swelling on the neck which had come of itself.

27th. Br. Luckenbach conducted the preaching service at the usual time, and in the evening Br. Kluge delivered an address on the text for the day, a number of visiting Indians being present.

29th. Upon our desire Mr. Gordon sent us flour. Glad as we were for the flour, which we needed sorely, we were sorry that he did not send us any salt and informed us that for the time being there was no salt to be had in Fort Hamilton. Salt is at all times a rare and expensive article. We have been practically without any for a number of weeks and consequently were compelled to buy a pint from a trader for half a dollar, and had to go eight miles for it at that.

30th. We heard that the heathen practice all sorts of deceit to lead astray the Christian Indians and to draw them away from us. They tell our members: "You are ignorant people that you have to hear the Word of God so often. We on the contrary, if we have once heard a thing, we have enough of it and seek to hear something else again. You allow yourselves to be enslaved by the white people (your teachers), for you are not permitted to come to our sacrifices, dances, and jollifications, and thus forsake everything which our and your grandfathers taught us. These things which they taught we must pay attention to, and must live as they lived, so that we, too, may attain to the place where they and our friends are, for we do not want to be in any other place than where they are," etc. These are the very poisonous arrows of the Wicked Enemy which he shoots at our poor Christian Indians, who at best are still very weak in the faith and have a secret inclination toward heathenism. This and similar talk on the part of the heathen has had an evil effect on many of our poor people, so that they are often ashamed to witness boldly before the heathen to the grace and salvation which a sinner through faith in the Saviour enjoys, and in consequence are held in contempt and slandered by the heathen. Unfortunately, many of our people, against their conviction, keep company with the heathen.

How we feel in regard to it and the great darkness of sin and of the Devil which surrounds us here, the Saviour knows best, to whom alone we can tell our sore troubles and weep over them. With this first quarter we greet all our dear brethren in the congregations and commend ourselves and our work to their prayers and remembrance before the dear Saviour.

JOH. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

SECOND QUARTER

April 1. A number of heathen with pack horses passed through our village on their way to Woapikamikunk to a heathen sacrificial feast given by the Delaware Chief of the Turkey Tribe. Because he accompanied the invitation of the Indians to the sacrifice with the request that everyone who came should bring his own provisions, not very many attended it. Those who did not care for the feast and thought only of the eating and the drinking usually connected with it, stayed away entirely. Nevertheless, we understand that a goodly number were present because the heathen sacrifice, having been instituted by their forefathers, is held in high regard by them.

To our great sorrow we also learned that one of our old widows had gone to this sacrifice, and, since she has long desired to go to her heathen friends and children, we doubt whether she will return, especially since she has become involved with heathen practices.

The above-mentioned sacrificial feast, they say, is held only once in three years, and according to their teaching the object of it is this, that they ask God for long life, in connection with which, however, it so happens that the Devil is worshiped in every imaginable way, attended with all sorts of abominations. There are also dances held at night in which every Indian relates his dreams. The strange part of it all was that after the sacrifice was ended the Chief who had given it died during the night after a two days' illness, without anyone being present, and that in spite of the fact that he had just held a festival in the interest of long life. On this occasion some Indians are reported to have said: "Now we can see that all our efforts to attain to long life are in vain."

3d. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon, and in the evening Br. Kluge conducted the evening meeting, in which he reminded the brethren and sisters that we are beginning Passion Week, and begged them to be sure to remember how much it cost the dear Saviour to save us from sin and to reconcile us thereby to God; that they should, therefore, beseech the dear Saviour that He should grant them grace that they might never lose sight of Jesus' wounds, etc.

5th. We spoke with our members in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. To our comfort we were able to see the work of the Holy Spirit on their hearts, in that they showed themselves desirous for the Saviour and His grace.

6th. We also spoke with our Sr. Theresia, of the Pottewattami nation, who likewise expressed herself very encouragingly, and, as she has done several times before, so this time, also, she pleaded for the enjoyment of the Holy Communion. In the afternoon, to our joy, the dear Saviour made known His will through the lot which was employed in regard to the sister mentioned, and we received the direction of our dear Lord that we should look upon her as a candidate for Communion, over which we rejoiced with her, and expressed the hope that sh would surrender herself wholly to the dear Saviour. In the evening, after the example of our Saviour, we had foot washing, the Saviour being very near unto us and uniting our hearts in love.

7th. In the morning we began with the reading of the Passion of our Lord and Saviour. At the opening of the service Br. Kluge knelt in an earnest prayer in which he besought the dear Saviour anew to impress very deeply upon our hearts during the reading of this great history of His saving death and suffering, how much it cost Him that we are saved. After the prayer we continued the reading of the "Acts of Thursday" until His burial. In the evening we had the blessed enjoyment of the body and blood of Jesus in Holy Communion, in which the dear Saviour blessed us in a marked way and comforted our saddened hearts. Our Indian Sr. Theresia, as candidate, looked on.

8th. In the morning there was the thanksgiving liturgy, after which we had yet three reading lessons.

9th. In the afternoon we had a love feast with our Indian members, Br. Luckenbach leading the singing with the violin.

Easter Day, the 10th. With the clarinet, Br. Luckenbach announced to the members the great festival day, and upon this signal we gathered in our assembly hut and there prayed the Easter litany. The remains of one brother and two sisters lie in our God's Acre as the first seed of our labors. The two, Sr. Magdalena and Lydia, were baptized by us since our arrival and both are already in the congregation above.

At the usual time Br. Kluge conducted the preaching service, speaking on the victorious resurrection of our Saviour. In the afternoon Indian Br. Joshua and Sr. Mary left for Woapicamikunk because they were called there by the chiefs two days ago. The former was to be employed as interpreter in the Mohican language, because seven men of that nation had come to the Delaware chiefs from the State of New York in order to renew the old friendship.[5] Sr. Mary had business there in connection with the recent death of her brother and on the 12th returned home. In the afternoon an Indian passed through here. Br. Luckenbach, who talked with him, asked him whether he too had heard the Word of God already. The Indian answered, "yes," in the Indian town of Woapicamikunk at their sacrificial feasts; whereupon Br. Luckenbach told him that what they had in connection with their sacrificial feasts was not the Word of God; that that did not help them at all, but that if he would believe on God who from love for men had given His life, that would help him more, etc. Thereupon the Indian answered, "So!" and with that he let the matter rest.

As the weather has been pleasant for some time we were busy in our garden with digging and sowing on the 13th. In these days we also received various letters and reports from our brethren in Goshen and Gnadenhütten, which the above-mentioned Mohican Indians brought along. We rejoiced to learn that all our brethren in those places were well.

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[5] The lands on White River were granted to the Delawares, Mahican, and Munsee jointly. Captain Solomon U. Hendrick, chief of the Stockbridge Indians, a Mahican tribe, was among the representatives of the eastern tribes who visited the Delawares from time to time. In 1818 he gave an account of the White River Delawares to the Reverend John Sergeant, who in turn communicated it to Jedidiah Morse. The following account of a council which he places in 1802 may possibly refer to the one mentioned by the missionaries as taking place in 1803.

"In 1802, a council was held at Wappecommehkoke, on the banks of White river, by Delawares and the delegates of the Moheakunnuk nation. The former then accepted all the proposals made by the latter, among which was *civilization*, of which, said the Chief, we '*take hold with both hands.*' In the mean time he declared his dependence on his grand children [the Mahican]; that is, that we should either teach them ourselves, or lead a white man by the hand, who we know is a good, honest man, to instruct them; that they were desirous it should take place before they die, &c. The Speaker was named Tatepahqsect, a principal sachem of the Delaware nation, and of the Wolf clan, and his head warrior, named Pokenchelah." Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs,* 108-12.

17th. Not having an interpreter no meeting could be held. In the afternoon Mr. Gordon of Fort Hamilton arrived here, and brought us quite unexpectedly a letter from Mr. Ziegler, in which, to our joy, we also found one from Br. Loskiel, as well as an English textbook. This year we are especially fortunate in getting the textbooks, for this is the fourth already that we received, for we received two from Br. Heckewelder in connection with the letters from the Muskingum, to which we referred, which arrived these days. In the evening Br. Joshua returned from Woapicamikunk.

18th. We burned off the plain on our plantation so as to rid it of old, long grass. We all had to be on strict guard to keep the fire away from our fences. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

19th. The Indian Br. Joshua, with his canoe, left here for the Indian town 15 miles away to get corn, for which he had made a butter tub. The 21st he came home again and brought with him the heart-rending news that a little girl, Bethia, the little daughter of John Thomas and Catarina, had died and was buried during their stay among the heathen, and that the parents of the child wanted to stay among the heathen and would not return to us. We were not so surprised to hear this of John Thomas, for he has been in a pitiful state for over a year and has followed all the ways of the heathen. But we did not expect it of her, for just recently she partook of the Holy Communion and before doing so expressed herself quite sincerely toward the Saviour and spoke of her fears of the temptations of the heathen and blamed her husband for all sorts of irregularities. Now, however, we heard that *she* was inclined to heathenism and was the cause of their going about among the heathen, which showed itself most plainly, so that we are quite amazed at the hypocrisy of this person. What causes us most pain is their children, who will now grow up in the midst of all the vices of heathenism. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the daily text, dwelling principally on the fact that no one should rest with much talking about the Saviour and with making Him many beautiful promises without keeping them, and be deceived yet in thinking that all was well if one only talked a great deal about the Saviour; that all this would not avail, for the Saviour looks upon the heart and knows whether we are sincere or not and enjoy communion with Him, etc.

22d. In the evening Br. Luckenbach had the Passion liturgy. The 23d the old Indian widow Quietintis, who became sick in February in her sugar camp and had herself taken to her heathen friends, sent word that our Indian brethren should come to her and bring her to us once more. We sent the Indian Br. Joshua to her to ascertain what her intentions really were. When Joshua returned, he told us that she was very anxious to return to us in order that she might hear the Word of God and that she had given assurance that she would never again leave but would live and die among the believers.

24th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached on today's gospel: John 10:11, "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." He emphasized especially the shepherd faithfulness of Jesus to poor sinners. Today it rained all day without stopping once, so that the evening meeting had to be omitted. Br. Luckenbach reviewed the main points of the sermon for our Sr. Theresia and spoke to her about communion with the Saviour, her husband, our old Frenchman, acting as interpreter. She expressed herself as very grateful for the preaching of the Word of God and said: "I always rejoice when I hear something about God, and I feel, too, that I am quite a different person since my baptism, for I feel happy at heart, and pray every morning and evening to the Saviour that He should enable me to live in accordance to that which I hear; that He should help me constantly to greater understanding of His Word in my heart. I am only sorry that I am so ignorant; I am as ignorant as a dog, but when I pray to God it does my heart good," etc.

During the night between the 24th and 25th we had a heavy thunderstorm. It rained hard all night so that, on the 25th, the White River was 12 feet higher than usual, something which has not happened since we are here. Nearly the whole surrounding country was under water. Our plantation, however, was only under water at the lowest places. The river fell as rapidly as it rose, so that little damage was done at any place, except that some of the fences about the cornfields of some heathen towns were washed away.

26th. The Indian Br. Joshua, with his canoe, went to the Indian town four miles away to meet the old widow Quietintis, concerning whom considerable mention is made under date of the 23d, and arrived here with her toward evening. She was very glad and thankful that she is allowed to live with us again. The Saviour grant that she may be really in earnest and become a reward for Jesus' suffering.

27th. Mr. Gordon, of Fort Hamilton, came and brought us some flour and salt. For the latter we were especially glad, because we have not had any for some time. Salt is sold here according to weight, 50 pounds being considered a bushel, but it is not anywhere near a bushel when it is measured. For such a quantity of fifty pounds one has to pay $6. Mr. Gordon, however, lets us have it for $4, which is the price at Fort Hamilton.

We made use of this opportunity to send with Mr. Gordon to Cincinnati to be mailed, our diary and letters to our brethren in Bethlehem.

28th. The waters having abated, we two brethren worked at the fence around our cornfield, making our field somewhat larger and cleaning the old fence. Br. Joshua was engaged in similar labors. Our Indian brethren wanted to burn off the dry grass around their fields, and not being careful enough, the fence on the side of the woods was set on fire and was burned up completely, in consequence of which they will have anew much work in connection with the same.

29th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy with our members. The evening meetings were all held this week after the usual manner, and the Saviour often revealed Himself graciously to us and comforted our hearts under our many difficult circumstances.

May 1. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on the words, I Peter 2:11-12. A number of heathen women were present. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the daily text.

2d. A young Indian came to our old Indian Br. Jacob and Sr. Mary and asked for the hand of Indian Sr. Mary's daughter, who left her heathen husband long ago while among the heathen; he promised them to move here and always remain with her. Sr. Mary and her daughter had no objections, so he remained with them and after a number of days went hunting from here. This week we had very cold weather. During the night from the 6th to the 7th it snowed, and on the morning of the 7th there was six inches of snow on the ground, but it did not last long. Meanwhile everything that we had planted in our garden and had already come up, was frozen.

8th. We had no pleasure in holding a public service because our interpreter at the time was in a bad way, and we heard many unpleasant things about him, for which reason we spoke with our members privately as best we could.

9th. The weather became warm once more and we could resume our necessary field work.

11th. We two brethren Kluge and Luckenbach at last finished the fence around our cornfield and on the 12th we began to plant our two-acre tract with corn, potatoes and other fruits of the field. Today, too, the widow Quietintis, mentioned under date of April 26th, had Br. Kluge called to her side and amid many tears expressed (as she has done a number of times) her longing to be baptized and said she regretted exceedingly that she had not yielded herself to the Saviour long ago and had wasted so many years without God. Among other things, she said: "Oh, that I too might find mercy and receive the forgiveness of sin from God. In this world I desire nothing more than God. My heart hungers for Him and for the forgiveness of my sins. And I believe that He also died for me and shed His blood, therefore I long day and night to have my sins washed away with His blood. If I attain to that, even though I should recover (she has been sickly for several months) I shall never leave God and the believers," etc. She was lovingly comforted and pointed to the Saviour as the friend of poor sinners, with the assurance that the Saviour, who knows and is acquainted with all things, is also acquainted with her heart and knows if she really longs after Him and His mercy, in sincerity, and, if this is the case, the Saviour will also grant her desire for baptism and to be washed from her sins with His blood.

13th. Abigail, who left her husband Joshua a few months ago, because they lived in a constant state of dissension, and, for this reason, too, had gone away from here, returned and begged to be received again in the congregation. She asserted that she had no rest in her heart day or night because she had left the congregation, so she had returned. We pitied her because she is an old woman and we do not like to see her run around among the heathen, where she falls into all sorts of sins, and we gave her permission to remain here on trial.

14th. The lot indicated that the frequently mentioned Indian widow Quietintis might be baptized, for which we thanked the dear Saviour heartily. When we announced to her this coming favor, she began to weep for joy, stretched out her hands and cried, time and again: "I thank thee, my God, that thou receivest me."—Today, too, our interpreter, Br. Joshua came to us to talk over frankly with us his hitherto scandalous behavior. With much love, yet strongly, we impressed upon him his many departures and unfaithfulness toward the Saviour, and begged him, as we have done numberless times before, to beseech the Saviour for a faithful heart, which he still lacked entirely. All this he promised to do.

15th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on the text: John 16:22-27 and spoke concerning the great love of God for mankind, etc. A number of heathen women were attentive listeners.

16th. It proved that the two old widows Loisa and Anna Salome, who were baptized by the Brethren in olden times, and who in the very beginning moved here to us, have been great hypocrites, in that they now moved back again to their heathen friends, from the midst of whom they came about a year ago. They excused themselves by saying that they were too old and weak to support themselves and that they had no friends who helped and looked after them. That they are old and weak is true, but we saw that they got along all right in the beginning, and especially helped them in time of sickness. But now since they have allowed themselves to be prevailed upon by their heathen friends and have given ear to the heathen, they make all sorts of excuses why they can no longer live with us. This coming as it does from these two old women is very painful to us, because we would never have imagined it possible before. We also heard again today that the chiefs forbid the Indians to move to us and hear the Word of God, which is now very plain to us, too, because the heathen Indians hardly ever come to our services, either from the heathen towns or when they pass through our village. This augurs badly for us and for the cause of the Saviour.

17th. We white brethren finished planting today, for which we are very glad. This work always becomes very bitter, because we have to do the fence making and planting all alone with our hands without any outside assistance whatever. We had always understood that the Indian brethren did this work for their teachers, but we do not enjoy this necessary relief and help, in that we have nothing but old, weak, sickly people with us, who expect help from us instead of lending assistance to us, as is the case at present, since they want us to build a fence for them around their cornfield. Hard as this comes on us we see no other way than to do the work, because they pretend to be too weak for it, and they say that they will not plant if they can not have a fence. From this anyone may easily imagine how hard we have it in every way and against how many difficulties we have to struggle, and still in no wise is the object of our being here attained.

18th. The old widow Quietintis had Br. Kluge called to her side, and pitifully begged that she might soon be baptized, and said: "Since I know that I am to be baptized, I am counting the days and the hours, and the time seems very long to me," etc. We had decided to baptize her on Whitsunday, but since she begged so hard for it, we resolved to baptize her tomorrow, which is Ascension Day. She greatly rejoiced over it when she was informed of this decision.

19th. This being Ascension Day the sermon was preached at the usual hour. Toward the close of the service, amid the many tears of those present and the feeling of the near presence of God our Saviour, Br. Kluge baptized in Jesus' death, with the name Elizabeth, the above-mentioned old widow Quietintis from the Delaware nation. After this holy rite this poor sickly woman could not express her gratitude sufficiently for the grace which she had enjoyed. The dear Saviour grant that she, as long as she lives, may live only unto Him! Yesterday and today we also spoke with our few brethren in view of the approaching Holy Communion. On this occasion much appeared again that was painful to us, especially with drinking among the heathen, of which some have been guilty since our last Communion. Although they repented of their sin, it is after all painful to us because there is still no whole heart for the Saviour among our few members. Their hearts are always somewhat divided and incline toward their heathen friends, who tempt them to evil. The most painful of all was that we heard that Br. and Sr. John and Catarina Thomas together with their children, would remain among the heathen and would not return to us again. Since our coming, we have borne with this family with much patience, to keep them from the heathen, if possible, and in the congregation. Now, however, they have separated themselves from us in an underhanded way, in that they pretended to go for corn and that they would come back soon. Instead they remain among the heathen for good and behave themselves worse than the heathen. Unfortunately, we have to hear of their actions almost every day. The most sorrowful of all is that they tell the heathen that they left the believing Indians because the Indian Br. Joshua had killed their child by means of witchcraft.[6] Such talk cannot work anything but great harm to us, and keep the easily persuaded heathen away from us.

Abigail, on account of offense given, had to be dismissed from Communion and from the congregation.

21st. We had the enjoyment of the body and blood of our Saviour in Holy Communion to the quickening of our poor, sad hearts, in fellowship with three Indian Christians. The son of Theresia as confirmator was present as witness.

22d. After the thanksgiving liturgy Br. Kluge preached the sermon. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting. Late in the evening, after we were asleep, a drunken Indian came into our village. Since everybody was asleep he came to the door of Br. Kluge's house, but, finding it locked and being unable to get in, he pretended to be crying, and said: "Oh, I am so poor, and I am baptized; I want to go to the teacher," etc. Br. Luckenbach, who heard him run around the door of Br. and Sr. Kluge, came out of his house and asked him what he wanted, whereupon he gave vent to a great deal of mixed-up talk and said: "My name is John and my father lives in Fairfield." Br. Luckenbach reminded him that it was no time to visit, that we wanted to sleep and that he should go and sleep, too, and come in the morning. At last he allowed himself to be persuaded and went to Joshua's to sleep. It is very unpleasant that such drunken Indians always have with them their guns and tomahawk, with which in their wrath they might easily commit a murder, for which reason one has to be on constant guard. The following morning when he was sober he went away early, so that we did not see him again.

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[6] Joshua was later put to death under charge of possessing the power to destroy people.

24th. Br. Luckenbach in company with Mr. Gordon left for Cincinnati to draw the necessary money through Mr. Ziegler, as well as to buy a horse for us there. We heartily wish for him the protection and help of the Saviour.

25th. It rained nearly all day, as has been the case for some time, so that there is danger of high water. These days, too, the Indians accompanied their chiefs to Fort Wayne in order to get their presents which they annually receive from Congress. Indian Sr. Mary's daughter, who is not yet baptized, went also to get something for herself and children. As our old Indian Br. and Sr. Jacob are old and sickly and worried because this year they were unable to build a fence around the cornfield, and for this reason would have to be constantly in the cornfield to watch the cattle, and since we do not like to see anything of this sort because they easily get into bad ways thereby, and because it is not orderly either, and Joshua being the only Indian man with us (N.B. Old Jacob still suffers from his eyes) who could come to their assistance, there was no other way than for us to get to work and build the fence, although we ourselves had need of help with our work on the field. All this is often very bitter to us, nevertheless, we made a beginning on the 26th to build the fence around Br. Jacob's cornfield. Br. Luckenbach being at this time in

Cincinnati, Br. Kluge asked the old Frenchman to assist, who was willing to do so, too, so that in five days the fence was nearly finished, over which our old Br. and Sr. Jacob were very happy. We have it very hard in this respect, because we have only the two old Indian men, Jacob and Joshua, with us. Joshua is not able to do much in days of health, for which reason we are in trouble as soon as something has to be done in common. Instead of their helping us, we have to help them, which frequently discourages our few members so that no young people have come to us from among the heathen. The evening meetings were held after the usual manner this week.

Whitsunday, the 29th. At the usual time the sermon on the gospel lesson: John 14:23-31. Before the same Br. Kluge knelt in prayer and on his knees with bowed and penitent heart thanked the dear Saviour for the sending of His Spirit, for the faithful care and pains of the precious Holy Spirit with us poor ones, begged Him for forgiveness when we did not always give ear to His gracious voice and grieved Him thereby, and besought Him that He should graciously grant unto us His fostering care and support our work among the heathen with His strength.

In the afternoon we read to our Indian members something about other missions among the heathen, e. g. concerning the Hottentots, over which they rejoiced. Because our Indian members were accustomed to observe only the first holy day in the congregation in which they were before, they resumed their work on the 30th, that is, they planted corn, with which they are still busy. In the evening, Br. Kluge spoke to our Sr. Theresia concerning the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, and admonished her to be attentive to the voice of God in her heart, etc. Thereupon she said: "I rejoice that I, too, can now understand this. I know now what it means when in the midst of my work I feel like praying to God, and when I do this immediately, I feel very happy and as if I could breathe more freely," etc. Br. Kluge admonished her ever to be obedient to the voice of God in her heart, in which event that which was still dark to her would become more and more clear.

June 1. We made a beginning at weeding our cornfield.

2d. An old Cherokee Indian who married a Delaware Indian and who has lived a number of years among the Delawares in this region, came to our place. He stayed overnight with us. During the night he went out on the river in a canoe to hunt and in the morning he brought a deer back with him, which he shared with our members. We also received a piece. This was the first fresh meat we had for more than a month.

Br. Kluge told the Cherokee, that there were now teachers among his people also,[7] and asked him if he did not want to believe on the God who became incarnate for our sake and whose love caused Him to die for the sins of mankind, so that we might live with Him forever, in which case he could then tell his people something concerning God, whereupon he answered: "I do not know yet." He was otherwise very friendly toward us.

4th. The Indians returned from Fort Wayne with their presents. With them came the daughter of our Indian Sr. Mary, who brought various articles of clothing for herself and mother, and a good gun for our old Br. Jacob. A trader from this neighborhood told us that in connection with the distribution of the annual presents among the Indians at Fort Wayne, the commandant had called together all traders who live among the Indians and had forbidden them most emphatically to sell whisky to the Indians, with the threat that anyone who so much as sold them a pint of whisky would not only be severely punished, but would forever after be forbidden to trade with them. We were very glad to hear this. Although the whole liquor traffic is not stopped by this action, since the Indians themselves fetch most of the whisky, it will after all be lessened, for the traders often brought whole barrels of whisky and exchanged them for pelts. Oh, how pleasant it would be to live among the Indians if the terrible liquor traffic would cease!

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[7] In 1801 Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan began a mission among the Cherokee in Georgia. De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger*, 663; Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 295-96.

5th. Preaching service was held at the usual time. A number of heathen women attended. In the evening, too, a meeting was held as usual. During the night of the 6th, there was a heavy frost. The corn, beans, and garden vegetables were nipped by the frost, but they were not injured much. The heavy rains restored them all. On the whole, we have had very good weather and everything grows very nicely, but the insects have been worse this year than ever before. In spite of the fact that we keep a constant smudge going in front of our houses, the mosquitoes and a small, almost invisible fly whose sting is even more burning and painful than that of the former, trouble and sting us terribly, so that we are all swollen up and at night we can hardly sleep or rest. We have here also a certain caterpillar which lives in the ground and eats off every kind of young plant near the ground, and what it leaves behind is eaten up by the earth fleas, so that hitherto we have had no lettuce and could have no cabbage plants in our garden.

8th. Our recently baptized Sr. Elizabeth had Br. Kluge called to her side. She has been sickly for a long time. She told him, "I will hardly get well again, therefore, I am very sorry that I cannot attend the meetings on account of sickness. I frequently weep over it, that I lived so long in health and did not yield myself to God, but spent my days without Him. Now I am physically weak, but I rejoice over nothing more than that I was cleansed from my sins through Jesus' blood when I was baptized. This I feel in my heart, and I am happy and desire to go to the Saviour soon." Br. Kluge comforted her and admonished her, on her bed of sickness, to hold fast to the Saviour by faith, and commune with Him, and tell Him everything in childlike manner that burdened her, and beseech Him, in view of His suffering and death, to sustain her, etc.

9th. We heard that several heathen women had inquired of our Indian sisters whether they would be allowed to plant on our ground. They did not want to move here, however. We sent them word that we would be glad to have them remove here, hear the Word of God and be converted, in which case they could plant on our land, but since they had no inclination in this direction and preferred to live among the heathen, they would have to do their planting among them, too, because the chiefs had given this tract of land to the believing Indians, etc. They said no more about it. Because our Indian brethren are too decrepit to build a fence around the cornfield and too poor to hire some one to do it for them, we often wish very much that it was in our power to provide a strong rail fence for them, since, for want of one, they lose much corn and in consequence suffer great need, and for which reason we have to see and hear great dissatisfaction among them. Although the fence is not alone to blame, since they always plant entirely too little corn, nevertheless the lack of one always gives them cause for complaint. If they had a good fence, so that the cattle could not destroy their corn, we could the better convince them that the fault lies with them when they have nothing, and get them to plant more. How to attain this end, that is the question. We know of no way because we lack the necessary means. We two white brethren cannot build them a fence with our own hands. We have enough to do for ourselves. To have the fence built for them is out of the question, too, because we fear the expense. As it is, this mission costs our dear brethren a great deal; therefore, the wish that something might be done must suffice, and meanwhile we must do what we can.

10th. Sr. Kluge enjoyed the special protection of God, in that when she was thrown over by an angry cow and fell against a large log, she was not hurt much, for which we thanked the Saviour.

12th. Br. Kluge at the usual hour preached on the text: I John 4:16. A heathen family was an attentive audience. In the evening there was a meeting as usual, at which extracts from the diary of the Greenland Mission were read to our members.

13th. In the afternoon, we had the joy of welcoming home our dear Br. Luckenbach who had been away to Cincinnati for three weeks. This journey was made under great difficulties but safely nevertheless. He brought back with him the necessary money for our sustenance—the money was procured through Mr. Ziegler. He also brought other articles which we needed, and a horse, too, which he bought in Fort Hamilton. We need a horse for our journeys. Br. Luckenbach on this journey enjoyed the gracious protection of our dear Saviour in body and soul, for which we thanked the Saviour heartily. In this as in every other case, Mr. Ziegler showed himself a friend. There was a special pleasure in store for us in the shape of a letter from our dear Br. Van Vleck, dated Oct. 24, 1802. The weekly reports of the U. E. C. and the monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem also came. The letter we had given up as lost for a long time, until Br. Luckenbach quite unexpectedly received it from a landlord in Fort Hamilton.

14th. On this and the following days we were busy in our cornfield.

15th and 16th. We had a severe thunderstorm. These last days we have had a great many thunderstorms together with heavy rain.

17th. Br. Luckenbach conducted a service, using the Passion liturgy. The evening meetings were held this week as usual. They were attended by a number of visiting heathen.

19th. Br. Kluge preached on today's gospel lesson: Luke 14:16. A number of heathen were attentive hearers. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the daily text. For the last few weeks two Indian families have been busy planting corn on the plain about two miles from our village. They attended the meetings almost every evening and showed themselves very friendly toward us. When they have shot a deer, they always bring part of the meat to our members. We have spoken to them a number of times asking them to yield themselves to the Saviour and believe on Him, but they answered each time: "We do not know yet." Meanwhile they attend the services faithfully and it seems as if they enjoyed hearing the Word of God. The Saviour grant that it may not remain with the mere hearing of the Word, but that they surrender wholly to Him and become a reward for His sufferings!

20th. As has happened frequently, our Indian members complained again today that their corn was gone and that they would soon suffer want, and asked us to come to their assistance. We do not see how we can help them, because there is a general famine at present in the Indian country. They gladly pay a dollar a peck, if they can but get corn, but unfortunately there is hardly any to be had. For this state of affairs, the Indians themselves are to blame. When planting time is here, the heathen roam about in the woods, and plant only a little or no corn at all, then when they come to their towns they complain that they have no corn and those who planted some will then sell theirs for an unheard of price, because they know that they can get what they demand. That our people get into similar trouble always hurts us very much, because it is very pitiful to see them suffer hunger. Of course, they themselves are to blame for this, in part, because they plant barely enough to get through when the season is especially fruitful, for they do not like to work. When the corn does not turn out well or when there is a drought, as was the case last summer, they soon suffer famine. We do our level best to get them to plant a great deal, but with some of them our efforts are fruitless. When they suffer want, then they talk of planting more next time, but in the end matters remain the same. This gives us a great deal of trouble, because hunger drives them to all sorts of hurtful ideas. This spring they are especially in want. Most of our members suffer from sore eyes, abscesses on the neck, and the like, some more than others. In addition to this Joshua cut his foot with a scythe, for which reason he has been unable to get about for the last few weeks. Our recently baptized Sr. Elizabeth is constantly sick, and it seems as if she had consumption, so that we have to hear daily complaints and groans. We are kept busy visiting, comforting, and giving medicine. Besides this, we two white brethren were busy this week with our corn and garden vegetables, hoeing and weeding them, so that we always have our hands full.

24th. We had the usual Passion liturgy.

26th. At the usual time, there was preaching over today's gospel found in Luke 15. A heathen woman listened attentively to the sermon. In the afternoon, Indian Sr. Mary rode to Woapicamikunk to get some corn for herself. As for the rest, matters have pursued their course in our village in a quiet way, this summer. There is never anything here that disturbs us. The heathen in the Indian town 4 miles away from our place have not had half as much drinking this summer as last. Compared with last year, everything is very quiet, which makes it very pleasant for us.

27th. On this and the following days we two brethren were still kept busy in our cornfield, weeding and hoeing the same. Br. Luckenbach also planted these days 200 tobacco plants. Our cereals look especially fine so far, but we are sorry that we will not have any cabbage this year, the insects having destroyed every plant, so that not even one was left behind.—The meetings were held each evening this week as usual, and frequently Indians who passed through our village attended them.

30th. Today we spoke to each communicant in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. This time we could rejoice over their state of heart. The work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts was plainly in evidence. For example, Joshua said: "I have often experienced it that I myself am to blame when I am not content. When I permit other things to engage my attention, I soon forget the Saviour and then nothing is right. On the contrary, if I keep close to the Saviour and give heed to the voice of the Holy Spirit in my heart, then I am always happy, and find that I often make myself unhappy, which makes me feel very much ashamed of myself before the Saviour" etc. Jacob said: "I find out more and more every day that of myself and in my own strength I cannot do any good thing. If the Saviour did not assist me I would not make any progress at all. Before my baptism, I thought if I once knew the will of God, I would always live in accordance with it. Now I see that I have to ask the Saviour daily for strength to do this, and if I fail to do so I soon find out that it is not well with me," etc.

The meeting for communicants could not be held this evening on account of the heavy rainstorm.

THIRD QUARTER

July 1. In the evening the meeting for communicants was held. At this time our Indian Sr. Theresia was confirmed and admitted to the Communion.

2d. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Saviour in Holy Communion to the refreshing of our spirits. The Saviour was very near unto us.

3d. After the thanksgiving liturgy, Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. In the evening, Br. Kluge conducted the meeting.

4th. We sent some letters to our dear brethren in Fairfield with two Indians who do not live far from us. They left for Fairfield to visit their father who lives in that place.

6th. On this and the following days we two white brethren were busy making hay for the winter's store for the cattle. The weather was beautiful and dry.

7th. A number of Indian women from the town four miles from here came to our village. They came to buy milk, for which purpose they come almost every day because the famine is great among them. In payment for the milk they always give small silver shirt buckles, which they use among themselves instead of money. It is a matter of deep regret that so many heathen visit us almost every day, but to hear the Word of God they have no desire. At present we see less desire for the saving gospel than in the beginning. When they visit us they only speak of their hunting and the like, and seldom attend our services. Otherwise, they show themselves friendly toward us.

8th and 9th. A number of the heathen, on account of the famine, went to the woods to hunt and thus keep alive. As usual, the meetings were held each evening this week.

10th. Br. Kluge preached on the epistle for the day: Peter 1:18-19. In the evening, Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

11th. We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, stacked the hay which was made the previous week. This was hard work for us on the open prairie and in the great heat. We are the happier, therefore, that we are finished with it.

12th. Mr. Gordon of Fort Hamilton brought us flour, which we and our Indian members needed badly and for which we had waited a long time. We had the last piece of bread on the table and did not know where the next loaf would come from, since the time we expected the flour had already passed. This caused us to rejoice and to thank our dear Saviour that just at the right time the needed assistance was given. Mr. Gordon told us that he had had a great deal of trouble getting the flour to us, because the Indians in every town through which he passed wanted to buy it, because the famine is very great and they hardly know what to do. For this reason our Indian members had to be satisfied with fifty pounds each. As soon as the Indians who live in the town below our place heard that we had flour they came and wanted to buy from us. We would not have anything to do with them on that score. We had considerable trouble to convince them that we had not bought more than we ourselves needed, and that we had to help the Indians under our care, but that we could not do this for all Indians. We told them, too: "You have horses and can fetch flour yourselves, which is something we cannot do." Finally, they went home again. Our members have a great deal of loss on account of these visiting Indians, because, Indian fashion, they have to give everyone something to eat, though they themselves have only a little.

13th. Old Abigail, who has suffered a long time from sore eyes, came to our place. We are afraid she will lose her sight entirely. She cried and said: "I desire nothing more than the pardon of the Saviour and my teachers, that I dealt so badly with them, and so grieved the dear Saviour," etc. (She [had] left her husband Joshua and had gone away.) We pointed her to the Saviour and told her to pray that He should receive her and forgive her the sins with which she had grieved Him. As far as we were concerned, we told her, we would gladly forgive her, although we really did not know what to do with her under the circumstances in which she found herself, etc.

14th and 15th. We had a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by such a strong wind that a great deal of our corn was broken off. Our fields suffered the least, but from what we hear, the cornfields in some of the heathen towns are almost wholly destroyed. In these days our interpreter Joshua suffered from a severe attack of fever, but after we had given him an emetic it left him so that on the 17th he could act as interpreter in the church service. Br. Kluge preached on the text St. Matt. 5:4. Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting in the evening. In the afternoon, we spoke with our Sr. Theresia, which is something we do frequently because she understands little of the Delaware language in the meeting. We related to her what had been mentioned in the sermon. This served as an introduction to our speaking to her about her intercourse with the Saviour, whereupon she said: "In all circumstances I turn to the Saviour in prayer, as I have been taught. I realize it more and more that I feel best when I pour out my heart to the Saviour with weeping when I am grieved over something." We asked her whether she had the comfort in her heart that, if she should be called out of this world into the next today or tomorrow, she would go to the Saviour, she answered: "Yes. I know and am persuaded that the Saviour died for me, and that He has forgiven me my sins, and that I am His," etc.

18th. We began again to make hay, because we were afraid that we would not have an abundant supply with what we had already made. In the evening there could not be any meeting because our interpreter suffered from fever again.

19th. Br. Kluge spoke with a heathen Indian who has been in our village for some time and who attends our meetings. He asked him if he enjoyed being with us and liked to hear the Word of God, to which he answered affirmatively. Thereupon Br. Kluge told him of the sufferings of the Saviour; that the dear Saviour had undergone all these for our sake, because He loved mankind and desired that all men should be saved; that he himself would soon realize this if he would stay with us and hear the Word of God; and that he would feel how poor and sinful he was and realize his need of a Saviour. We told him that he would be saved, if he would believe on the Saviour and yield himself to Him. Thereupon he said: "This is all well enough, but I do not know as yet whether or not I will stay here, for my friends are not here; they live on another river." Unfortunately, this is always the case; they always make excuses why they do not want to be saved. Their heathenish customs please them too well. Upon these they are wholly dependent. When asked to do good, they pretend that they have to do as others do.

20th. We two brethren were quite busy with hay making. The weather could not have been more favorable, so that we could finish this work without delay. The 21st we stacked it. We were very glad when this, for us, heavy work was over. We have about two tons of very good hay for our cattle. We hope that we will have sufficient fodder to get through the coming winter.

22d. In the afternoon, old Tedpachsit, the first chief of the Delaware nation, together with his family, came for a visit. They all took supper with us, over which he was very happy, for they were very hungry, and none of our people had anything for them to eat. After supper we conducted the usual service which Tedpachsit and his family attended.

23d. The Chief's wife with her daughters went for corn to the lowest Indian town thirty miles down the river. The old Chief, however, remained with us meanwhile. He told an Indian in our presence: "I remain here with my brethren, because I know that in the Indian towns there is famine everywhere. Here, with my brethren (the teachers) I find good things to eat, and I do enjoy so much the food of the white people."

24th. Br. Kluge at the usual hour preached on the text John 8:12, to which the old Chief listened very attentively. In the afternoon, we took the old Chief into our house and went over carefully with him the matter of our being here. Among other things we told him that we were very sorry that the Indians paid so little attention to the Word of God, which love had caused us to bring to them from a long distance; that the Word should be regarded by all mankind, consequently by them, also, as most important, because it told of the only way of salvation; that in it God had proclaimed the glad tidings that God became man and took upon Himself the punishment for our sins, and died for love of disobedient mankind so that through faith in Him all might be delivered from the power of Satan and be saved.

Furthermore, we told them: "You chiefs are continually deliberating how you may better your people, and how you may check the evil in your midst, but wickedness gets the upper hand more and more, for the reason that you do not seek to combat it in the right way. If you would set your people a good example and urge them to hear the Word of God faithfully which is so freely preached, give up your old customs and believe on God and surrender yourselves to the God who from love died for mankind, and heartily rejoice and praise God, that would be the greatest happiness for you and for your people. If you desire to see your people happy, then be obedient to the words which we tell you, for they are God's Word, and in consequence you and your children will be happy both here and hereafter," etc. Thereupon the Chief answered: "Yes, Brethren, what you say is true. I realize full well that we chiefs are ourselves at fault that conditions among us are as bad as they are. We keep none of our people back from hearing the Word of God or from moving into your village and becoming believers on the great God. On the other hand, we have never yet told them to accept the Word of God, as we promised to do when you came here. We now realize that we have done wrong. If we had diligently urged our people to accept the Word of God, many of them might have turned to the great God, might have become believers, and would not live as wickedly as they do at present. I promise you anew to talk the matter over with my brother Pakantschihiles, and as soon as all of our people are at home I will talk with them as I am now talking with you. I will tell them what I found out and what I promised you to do." Whereupon we gave him our hand and begged him to be sure not to forget or to put the matter aside again, but to do as he had promised. Time alone will tell whether it was an empty promise or whether he will fulfill it. We hope with all our heart that he was really in earnest, and that he will do as he said, for which we daily pray to the Saviour.—In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

25th. The Chief's wife returned. She had been unable to buy corn, because the Indians themselves are in great need. She seemed very much discouraged over the matter. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day. The Chief and his family were attentive listeners. The Chief's wife told us that, as a girl, she had heard a spinnet in a meeting of the believers in Gnadenhütten, and that it had moved her to tears, and that she still remembered it with pleasure.[8] Thereupon the old Chief related how he had heard a great deal of beautiful music in the church of the believers while visiting in Lititz; that a large instrument—he meant the organ—had especially pleased and moved him. The music so touched Pakantschihiles that he was nearly moved to tears. He reminded himself, however, that he was a war chief, whose business it was to see and hear everything without being moved or made tender. He never had had an experience like that in the Lititz church. The Chief ventured to say that he believed the most hardhearted Indians would become tender if we had an organ like that. Br. Kluge told him: "The impression which the organ or any other music makes upon you is of short duration and will save no man, because the wicked heart is not changed thereby. Music has no other purpose than to make song pleasant and agreeable to hear. But he who hears in the church the great word that God became man, took upon Himself the burden of our sins, and from love to man allowed Himself to be put to death, so that everyone through Him might receive the forgiveness of sins, may find eternal salvation. Anyone who is moved by this great transaction and with all his heart desires to be cleansed from his sins by the blood of Jesus, and wants to live for Him alone in this world, will become a new man and will live in eternal happiness with God," etc. Furthermore: "If we shall have the joy of seeing you Indians turn to God with all your heart, surrender to Him and believe on Him, then, perhaps, we will also try to secure an organ; otherwise, we will not." Thereupon he answered: "Very well; I will do what I can and admonish the Indians to hear the Word of God diligently." Time will tell whether this promise has any foundation. We do not believe the chiefs any more because they have made so many promises already and never kept them.

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[8] Captain James Wood wrote as follows in his Diary after attending services at the Gnadenhütten Mission, Ohio, on August 6, 1775: "the Church is a Decent Square Log Building with Plank floors and Benches Ornamented with Several Pieces of German Scripture Paintings has a Small Cupola with a Bell and a very Indifferent Spinnet on which an Indian played." Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (eds.), *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, Wis., 1908), 64.

26th. The old Chief and his family left for home.

27th. The Indians had a drunken carousal in the heathen town four miles from here. An Indian woman had brought 7 barrels of whisky, each containing 6 gallons, around which the heathen from many faraway towns immediately gathered themselves. To our joy no drunken Indians came near us. Yesterday Br. Kluge rode to the Indian town 9 miles from here, and there found, to his great pain, all the Indians drunk and still drinking, consequently he returned at once.

29th. The Indian Captain Amochk (in German "Beaver") who was appointed the successor of Pakantschihiles and who recently appeared before Congress, came here with his wife, but he was not quite sober. He pretended to be very sorry and said: "I have often thought it would be well if I changed my life, believed on the God of whom you speak and lived with you. I realize that what we do, namely, our sacrifices and whisky drinking, are not for our good. They will avail nothing and merely make us poor. Therefore, I now desire to give up everything and become a believer. I do not think that anyone would make me drink whisky against my will, as the Indians do, if I lived in your village. As you know, I am the great Captain, but all this I will put aside, and live as you live," etc. We told him:

"Your decision and desire are good. We are glad that you realize that the life which the heathen lead will bring you ruin, and that it will make you unhappy in this life and in the life to come. If you would realize all this which you have now said after you are entirely sober, we would be very happy indeed. Since you are not quite sober, as you know yourself, we will not say any more just now. If you still feel the way you do at present, after you are quite sober, come again and then you shall hear more." Thereupon he said: "Very well; I will come soon, then you may see that I am in earnest." He gave us his hand and rode away. The meetings were held this week as usual. This evening we sang the Passion liturgy.

31st. Br. Luckenbach preached in the morning and in the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting.

August 1. Br. Luckenbach returned from the Indian town nine miles from here. He met there Mr. Gordon of Fort Hamilton, who had brought us flour and letters. We were very happy to receive letters once again from our dear brethren on the Muskingum, and to learn that all were well.

2d. Br. Luckenbach left for Cincinnati by way of Fort Hamilton to see Mr. Ziegler. Joshua went with him as a companion through the woods. The journey is undertaken principally for the purpose of getting from Mr. Ziegler the long-expected articles of clothing from Bethlehem, that is, if they have arrived. Our prayers and best wishes accompany Br. Luckenbach on this journey.

3d. All of a sudden a terrible excitement arose in all the Indian towns in this neighborhood. Two Indians returned from the chase, having been near the Kentucky border recently. They brought the report that the white people of Kentucky, besides the militia, which they call "long-knives," are already on their way into the Indian land, to come especially to the White River, with the purpose of carrying away captive the women and children and of killing the men. They also reported that the white people are very angry because the Indians stole so many of their horses; that they want to crush them, etc. They made the whole matter very impressive by saying that they had seen with their own eyes how the white people bound two Indians; that they themselves managed to escape so as to warn the Indian towns, for in two days the white people would be here without fail. This report spread throughout the Indian towns like wildfire. Messengers were sent to the chiefs and captains and all prepared for flight and defense. The sick Indians, besides the women and children, were dragged into the woods, and all household effects bound on horses and taken away. They also sent messengers into our village and warned our people to prepare for flight. Our Indian brethren came to us in great terror and said that they, too, desired to flee. Some of our old Indian brethren, recalling the sad occurrence in Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, where so many Christian Indians were murdered, said: "We do not want to make the same mistake they made in Gnadenhütten, where they remained and sang hymns, and killed no one. Nevertheless, they were all murdered by the white people in spite of the fact that the teachers assured them that they would not be hurt by the white men."

Br. Kluge, who was at home alone, told them: "The teachers of that time, as is always the case, meant it kindly with the Indian brethren. They passed through the same terrible experience and stood by you faithfully under the crushing burden. They could not help it at all that so many were murdered. It surely pained them as much as it pained you. At that time there was war, but at present there is peace. We have not heard anything yet, as you know yourselves, but several days ago a white man was here with flour. He surely would not have come if the rumors we now hear were true. From this you may judge for yourselves that there is peace between the whites and the Indians. Furthermore, the chiefs themselves made a treaty of peace recently. I believe, therefore, that these reports which the two Indians have spread are untrue. Nevertheless, if any of you are afraid and desire to flee, then do so. Consider well, however, what you do, that you may not plunge yourselves into unnecessary trouble. If you leave your cornfields, the cattle will destroy everything, and the result will be that you must suffer hunger," etc. They then asked: "Will you not take flight with your wife and children?" We told them that we could not think of leaving everything behind, for we had been put here by the Lord to preach the Word of God, therefore we had the confidence that He would protect and help us in case it was necessary to flee; that for the present we saw no danger and believed that the Indians would themselves see that these rumors were nothing but lies, etc. After this conversation they consulted together and came to the decision to pack all their belongings so as to be in readiness to flee to the woods should the need arise. The heathen, however, all fled into the woods. We heard the warriors practice their war songs. This was by no means cheering to us white people here in the wilderness and in the midst of these heathen Indians, and so far removed from white men. We could not help fearing that some wicked Indians might make use of this opportunity to do us hurt, knowing that we were without human help. We therefore prayed to our dear Saviour by day and by night that He should graciously protect us and bring to nought all the plots of the Wicked One and his instruments. And our dear Saviour comforted us with His presence and mightily strengthened our courage, so that we could quietly await events to see how matters would turn out.

4th and 5th. The unrest among the Indians continued, and one false report succeeded the other.

6th. At last our Indians returned from the chase and denied the rumors of war. Gradually the wild excitement subsided and the Indians realized that the report circulated had been lies. Our own Indians also quieted down again, and everybody attended to his business. In this way the terrible commotion came to an end. We thanked our dear Saviour that all was quiet once more even as we had desired and hoped it would be.

There is one more thing to be mentioned which happened on the evening of the 3d in connection with this commotion. In the evening of that day, the heathen daughter of old sick Elizabeth came here on a horse at a mad gallop in order to carry her mother off to safety posthaste, so that, as she said, the white people could not kill her. She picked the poor patient up from her bed, placed her with the assistance of others upon the horse, and stretched her out as if she lay in her bed. She then tied the limbs of the sick women to the horse's neck and her arms to the horse's legs, so that her head lay on its haunches. At the middle she girded her about after the manner of a saddle. She had barely proceeded a quarter of a mile before the sick woman had fallen down twice. She had to give up the attempt to carry her mother away. Old Elizabeth told her she should only leave her in our village, that she would rather die there than to be martyred on the horse. Assisted by some of the sisters, she brought the mother back to her hut. Her arms were badly chafed from the straps with which she had been bound to the horse.

7th. No meeting could be held because most of our members, as well as our interpreter are not at home.

8th and 9th. It rained both day and night. Heavy thunderstorms accompanied the rain.

10th. Our brethren returned home from drying blackberries.

12th. We had an especially strong windstorm; we were afraid our houses would suffer. Our Indian brethren came into our house. We heard the trees fall with a terrible crash. The storm lasted only half an hour. We suffered no damage, with the exception of a little broken-down corn.

13th. Toward evening our dear Br. Luckenbach returned safely from Cincinnati. We rejoiced over his safe return and thanked the dear Saviour for His gracious protection of him on this journey. But we were sorry to learn that the greatly needed articles of clothing sent for us from Bethlehem had not yet reached Mr. Ziegler, for which reason Br. Luckenbach had really made the journey. The Indian Br. Joshua who had gone to Cincinnati with Br. Luckenbach was unable to return right away because he lost his horse near Cincinnati. He looked for it and did not want to return home until he found it. The horse was not his own, but belonged to an Indian from whom he borrowed it. Br. Luckenbach found the inhabitants of Fort Hamilton very uneasy because the Indians were continually talking to them about war and troubled them greatly with stealing. Because not all of our members were at home and Br. Luckenbach had just returned from his journey, we could not have any meeting this evening, although we greatly wished to have one. In spirit uniting with our dear brethren of the congregations, an hour was set apart for the purpose on the 14th, and we three white people prayed to the dear Saviour that He should also reveal Himself to us His servants, and fill our hearts more and more with love to Him and to one another. We covenanted together to remain close to the cross and keep in view the suffering of our Lord until we shall see Him face to face. The presence of our dear Saviour was felt to our great comfort.

15th. On this and the following days it was very hot again and the air full of large gadflies, as has been the case the whole summer, so that the cattle hardly knew what to do and are full of blood spots. Altogether this place is full of insects that torment man and beast.

18th. We spoke with our communicants in preparation for the approaching Communion. Their testimonies were especially encouraging, because they acknowledged themselves as sinful and desirous for the Saviour and His grace. We wished, however, most earnestly that they might live more in accordance with their testimony and prove themselves more faithful to the Saviour, and might not, as is often the case, soon forget everything and disregard matters, and thereby have these continual altercations in their lives and thus take injury to their souls.

19th. Elizabeth, who has become quite emaciated from her sickness, gave us pain today. She had herself taken among her heathen friends under the pretext that our Indian members did not take care of her sufficiently. We tried everything imaginable to keep her from taking the step, but all was in vain. She kept to her purpose and her heathen daughter took her away from here without another word. We were all the more sorry because she was near the end of her life, and yet, with the wholly ungrounded hope of getting better nursing, became unfaithful to the Saviour. Anyone may easily imagine how we feel under such circumstances. Not long after we heard that she had come to a miserable end among her heathen friends. We are therefore unable to say anything concerning her end, save that we hope with all our heart that before her death the dear Saviour had mercy on her apostate soul.

In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy, as is the custom on all holy days.

20th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the comfort of our poor hearts. The Saviour was very near unto us.

21st. In the forenoon we had the thanksgiving liturgy. Not having an interpreter we could not have any public meeting today.

22d. At last our interpreter, Br. Joshua, returned safely from Cincinnati. He told us that he had found his horse again after having searched for it for five days. We rejoiced with him over this. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting. During these days we brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, were busy repairing the roofs of our cattle stables. We also built a new shed for hay, with which work we finished the 23d. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

24th and 25th. A number of Indians came to visit us. This is something that happens almost every day. Unfortunately their visit never has any other end in view than to beg bread or other things to eat. The Indians in this community are shameless beggars. One would have to have a great deal if one would always want to satisfy them. For the Word of God, on the contrary, they have no ears, and in no wise show any desire whatever to hear it.

26th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy with our members. The meetings were held every evening this week after the usual manner.

28th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge held the preaching service and in the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

29th. John Thomas and his wife Catherine, together with their children, left again for the Indian town thirty miles away (here they had been among their heathen friends in the spring and also planted), to harvest their corn, as they said, before the heathen should steal it. This would not have been necessary at all, if they had planted here where they have a good field. They had a good reason, however, for planting corn among the heathen. They wanted an excuse to go among them and join in their heathenish practices. Of this we have had enough sad proof recently, for they have been wholly indifferent and allowed themselves to be led into all sorts of sin through their evil inclinations. Anyone may easily imagine how we must feel under such circumstances. It almost breaks our hearts to see these Indian Christians, whom we brought here to be an example to the heathen, leave the Saviour and plunge into all the sins of the heathen. This time also, as we have done any number of times before, we pointed out to them the great injury they would suffer in soul and body, but it seemed to make no impression on them.

31st. Abigail's daughter, whom poverty had caused to stay here with her mother for a while, left again for her old sinful habits among the heathen from whom she had come. We were very glad to be rid of this wicked person and her heathen husband, for both of them were constantly stealing from our fields and living on it. This evening, Sr. Kluge, who is great with child, had the misfortune to suffer a severe fall, which hurt her very much and which had the result that

September 1st, at half-past four she gave birth to a healthy little daughter. We thanked the dear Saviour that He had so graciously helped her through, as she had practically no other assistance. The child came before its time which gave ground for alarm that there might be bad results. But the Saviour who has helped us through so many trials assisted us this time also. For a wonder, under the circumstances, Sr. Kluge was very well a number of days after her confinement.

2d. In the afternoon, in the presence of the Indian members and two heathen, the little daughter of Br. and Sr. Kluge was baptized in Jesus' death by the father and received the name of Henrietta.

4th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached. In the afternoon Br. Luckenbach was taken with a severe fever. Several of the Indian members have suffered from the fever, too, for some time. There also came today the three chiefs of the Delaware nation, besides a number of their attendants. Their intention was to go to a large sacrificial feast of the heathen, which was to be held in the Indian town 20 miles down the river. We made use of the opportunity to speak about various matters with the chiefs and finally invited them into our house where we entertained them the best we could. They showed themselves very friendly, as is their custom even though they may not mean it. We talked to them about our being here and told them of the suffering of the Saviour; that He had died for the sins of all mankind; that He had shed His blood, so that by faith all might receive the forgiveness of sins and attain to eternal life, etc. etc. Among other things we also expressed our sorrow that the Indians, for whose sake we are here, did not regulate their lives according to the Word of God so faithfully proclaimed in their midst; that they showed no desire for it, though we are already in the third year of our ministry in this place, and had come at their request. "In the beginning we believed that you and your people had a desire for the great Word, but now we see, to our sorrow, that no one bothers about it," etc.

Whereupon Chief Pakantschihiles said: "Yes, what you say is true. But we cannot drop our customs and teaching and sacrifices, for our forefathers too received them from God and left them to us. Every Indian must remain true to these things and not let them go. Your teaching is only for white people, and you yourselves see that we have another skin. Had God desired that we should have the teaching of the white people, He would have given it to our fathers too. But He did not so desire, and wants us to live as we are living now, and believe nothing else. Then too we have not forgotten the murder of the Christian Indians in Gnadenhütten. The white teachers, your brethren, taught the same thing you are teaching here. They sought to attract the Indians to themselves, and after many had been so drawn to them, they called the white people to come and murder them. That happened, too. I know full well that the teachers were at fault. For this reason the Indians do not want to be made tame again, so that they may not suffer likewise," etc.

Br. Kluge answered: "What you told me concerning your teaching and sacrifices—that you had to hold to them—gives me pain. You are to be pitied that you are so ready to remain in the slavery of sin and of Satan, and to believe what your fathers told you and taught you as coming from God. Who then is your God who gave you your teaching? It is the Devil; to him you live and sacrifice; he makes you believe all sorts of lies, for he is the father of lies. But the God whom we preach unto you, out of love gave His life for sinful men, so that all who receive Jesus and believe on Him might be delivered from the slavery of Satan. This is no idle tale, for the believing children of God who followed Him when He was here on earth saw everything with their eyes and heard from His mouth what they wrote down. This is the Word which we preach to you in the name of God. I wish you might realize in what a terrible condition you are, then you would be ashamed of yourselves and would fall down at the feet of our God and cry for mercy," etc. "Furthermore, what you have told us concerning the murder of the believing Indians, that in your opinion the white teachers were to blame, is a big lie, and anyone who tells you that is a liar. I am positive that this sad occurrence hurt the teachers of that time more than you can imagine. You know yourselves that they suffered everything in common with the Indians. They did not forsake them but remained with them to the end, going from place to place," etc. Finally Pakantschihiles said: "I will keep no Indian from moving to you nor will I urge anyone to do so. Anyone who wants to come to you may." The other two confirmed this statement. Thus we parted in friendship and with every assurance of love. Our petition to the Saviour is constantly that He should have mercy upon these poor blind people and open their eyes, that they may see matters as they are, and what is for their happiness.

5th. We met with our married people in preparation for the approaching Married People's Covenant Day.

7th. We joined in spirit with the choir of the married people in the congregations, and Br. and Sr. Kluge celebrated this festival with two other couples and a woman. It was impressive. One of our families was not present. In the forenoon this small choir had a separate meeting and in the afternoon we had a love feast which the children attended as guests. Br. Luckenbach accompanied the singing with the violin. After this the same choir had another meeting, and we are happy to say that our dear Saviour looked graciously upon us in all these meetings and let us feel His peace, in spite of the fact that we were but three couples and one sister.

11th. The day was spent in the usual way.

12th. The fever left Br. Luckenbach, but for a long time he felt slight attacks which really weakened him as much as when the fever was still severe.

15th. The little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge also suffered a severe attack of fever. By day and by night he lay in fever. His temperature was very high. We gave him what medicine we had and the Saviour blessed the remedy thus applied, as in Br. Luckenbach's case, so that the fever left him on the 22d. Almost all our Indian members had the fever at this time. At the end of this month Br. Kluge also was taken with a severe attack. It did not leave him for 11 days. During this time Sr. Kluge was also taken down with it, and that before she had recovered from her confinement. She had it four weeks, longer than any of us. Matters looked pretty dreary with us. We were all so weak from the fever that we could hardly move about, and still we had to harvest our corn and gather in our other fruits of the field. This was terribly hard, because neither of us was really quite well yet. Nevertheless, the Saviour was with us and strengthened us so that we could get along somehow to perform all our duties. As far as our sickly condition permitted, the meetings were held after the usual manner. As opportunity offered, we also talked with visiting Indians. We are only sorry that the visiting heathen show so little desire to hear the Word of God. Thus far we see very little fruit of the preaching of the gospel.

FOURTH QUARTER

October 2. Br. Kluge preached in the morning and Br. Luckenbach conducted the evening meeting.

3d. and on the following days we and the Indian members were busily engaged with the harvesting.

5th. The communicants had a separate meeting at which Br. Kluge spoke on the daily text.

6th. We spoke with the communicants individually in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. Though we have but 5 communicants, a great deal that is painful came to light. One of the brethren in his illness had himself secretly bewitched in a cornfield, after the custom of the heathen, by his son-in-law. This was all the more painful to us because we would never have thought it of the old brother. Such sad occurrences have been frequent among our few members. One can hardly imagine what pains the heathen take to lead our people astray and to draw them into their own sinful practices. To our great sorrow the heathen succeed all too well. Our members are still poorly grounded in the faith, so that the temptations of the heathen are strong for them. They can hardly ever withstand. How we feel about it may be readily imagined.

7th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

8th. We had the enjoyment of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the comfort of our poor hearts. Two were suspended from Communion.

9th. In the morning we had a thanksgiving liturgy, and at the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon. In the evening, Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

13th. In the morning, Charlotte, the youngest child of the Indian Br. John Thomas, who has been sickly for some time, became so weak that one could expect her end soon. Br. Kluge was called and after singing a number of verses, the blessing of the Lord was imparted to the child in preparation for its home going, and it was committed to the arms of the Saviour. The Indian members who happened to be present were deeply moved. An hour later the little girl passed away in peace. Her age was one year less 8 days.

15th. The brethren Kluge and Luckenbach dug the grave for the deceased child, the two brethren Joshua and Jacob being confined to bed, the one suffering from a sore foot, and the latter from an old bruise on his chest. Because the father of the child declined to dig the grave, we had to take the place of the gravedigger so that the child might have decent burial. In the afternoon the funeral of little Charlotte was held. After a short address, there being no Indian brethren to do it, Br. Luckenbach carried the little body to our God's Acre, where it was interred, the regular liturgy for the occasion being used.

16th. Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Matt. 9:2. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting. After the sermon Catharine, the wife of John Thomas, came to Br. and Sr. Kluge and said: "My little child is now buried and I am no longer hindered from taking a journey; therefore, I have concluded to return to Goshen. I now realize full well that it is not for our good to remain here any longer. There are too many temptations here, in that we are constantly visiting back and forth among our friends, all of whom are heathen who seek to lead us astray. In Goshen we have no opportunity for such wicked things." Br. Kluge answered her: "We are glad to hear what you have told us. We have long wanted to hear it. To our sorrow we have long since seen that with your visiting among your friends your hearts have become quite cold, and you have fallen into all sorts of sinful ways. As you know yourself, and as we have long feared, you are in danger of losing yourselves and children entirely among the heathen. You know how often we have warned and begged you to give up your evil ways and turn again to the Saviour, but all in vain. Now however we thank the Saviour who has given you this mind to return to Goshen. We regard you now as a brand plucked from the fire."

17th. They actually got started on their way to Goshen and we sent letters with them to our dear brethren there. We were very glad that in this way we got rid of this family, for we are led to believe that thereby they may be saved from utter destruction. We could do nothing at all with them. They gave us much trouble and hurt the Saviour and His cause very much. For this reason they had to be suspended from the congregation for a long time. This they did not mind at all, falling only lower in degredation. For this reason we wish all the more that in Goshen they [may] once more be turned to the Saviour.

18th. Br. Luckenbach rode to Woapicamikunk to a trader named Connor to get some salt. We have not had any for a long time, but he succeeded in getting but 4 pounds. Salt is sold here by the pound. He returned on the 19th.

20th. and on the following days we brought our pumpkins home from the field with the wheelbarrow.

22d. At last we were quite finished with our harvesting, for which we were very grateful, and thanked our Father in Heaven most heartily for the rich blessing of the fruits of the field. We have 65 bushels of corn, 12 bushels of potatoes, and 3 wagonloads of pumpkins. All this was taken from our field, which consists of an acre and a half. The harvest exceeded our expectations by far. The transportation of these fruits of the field involved many weary hours, because we had to bring everything over the river in bags. For the most part our Indian members are also well provided with corn.

23d. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day: Matt. 22:1 ff. A heathen woman, besides our own people, was present. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

24th. Br. Joshua left for the woods where he intends to remain a few days and make raccoon traps. In these days many heathen families passed through our village on their way to the hunting grounds, as is the custom every year about this time. They remain in the woods the whole winter and half of the summer. Few of the women come home to plant, so that from now on until planting time one meets only a few old women in the

Indian towns. These days the brethren Joshua and Jacob told us that a Delaware chief had told them that they, the Delaware chiefs, were in great doubt and did not know what to do. The Governor had told them that it would be well for them to begin the civilized mode of life, and that he would help them to this all he could. They also said that the Indians in the woods had had a vision. An Indian suddenly appeared to an old Indian woman on the chase and told her: "I am your grandfather and am come to tell you something. You notice that the deer and bear and other wild game are constantly growing more scarce. This is your own fault, because you give heed to what the white people tell you and imitate them and keep horses, cows, hogs, and clothe yourselves with the material that the white people bring you. You are not to live that way. You are to live again as you lived before the white people came into this land. You are to dress in skins and everything that you have from the white people you must put away, and the cattle must be killed. In that event, you will have wild game enough, and the deer will come in front of your huts. At present the deer are under the earth. If you do what I have told you, they will once more come out," etc.

Chief Pakantschihiles is of the opinion that the Indians should give heed to this appearance of their grandfather and not to the white people. His people, however, have little sympathy with this, because they like their horses and their cattle. They also like to dress themselves up. Such appearances are common; once this, then that, anything that will be most advantageous to them. Thus they deceive the people. They have a great many deceivers among them.

26th. A heathen woman with two little children came here today. She remained some time with our Indian Christians. She said that the heathen women were so angry and struck her without cause. Her husband is on the chase, for which reason she wants to remain here for a while. Br. Kluge spoke with her and asked if she and her husband would not like to move here and hear the Word of God. She answered: "I would like to live with you, but I do not know what my husband would say to it." She attends the meetings regularly since she is with us. By the end of this month we were all perfectly well again, for which we are heartily grateful to the dear Saviour.

30th. There came to us a Twechtowe chief (a half-breed) with his two sons and a number of young Indians. They brought us two turkeys for which we gave them potatoes. He complained that so many of his nation died and that his children were nearly all sick with fever. He asked if we had any emetic and would we not give him some for his children, if we had. We gave him some, for which, too, he was very grateful. He promised to give us something some day when he would return from the chase. Because he speaks the language of the Delawares quite fluently, we made use of the opportunity to tell him of the love of the Saviour, and what He had done for mankind, and asked him if he and his nation would not like to have the Word of God proclaimed among them, as is done among the Delawares, whereupon he answered: "I would like it very much. How my nation would feel about it, I do not know. Without their consent I cannot do anything." Furthermore, he said: "This spring I was with the President who told me that it would be better for us if we would adopt another mode of life and not drink so much whisky," etc. When he saw that our people were getting ready for the service, he and his people with him came also. They listened attentively. After the service they shook hands with us and left for their camp three miles away.

November 1. Br. Luckenbach took our horse and went to Cincinnati to get there our articles of clothing for which we have so long waited. Though we have not had any definite word as yet from Mr. Ziegler that the goods from Bethlehem for us had actually arrived, we took for granted these must have come since it is so late in the year and we had already expected them to come in July with the goods of Mr. Ziegler.

In the afternoon our two old Indian brethren, Joshua and Jacob, went to the woods to make raccoon traps and also to hunt a little.

3d and 4th. We had heavy rains.

5th. It turned cold suddenly, so that there was thick ice during the night.

6th. Early in the morning our two Indian brethren, Joshua and Jacob, came home for Sunday. The former had shot two deer and the latter had caught an otter—an otter skin here is worth 4 dollars—. Our two old brethren were happy over their hunting and made preparation to go again. In the morning at the usual time Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day: Matt. 18:23. Several visiting heathen women attended the service. In the evening we had a song service with our members.

7th. A Wyandotte Indian visited the house of Br. and Sr. Kluge. His object, however, was to exchange venison for tobacco. However, he did not bring the venison along right away, but said he would bring it in five days when he would come again. He added: "I am not the kind that promises and then does not keep his word. You can take my word for it." Br. Kluge gave him a handful, saying: "Although I do not know you, I will give you this handful out of friendship. If we see that you will actually bring us meat then I will give you more." He was very happy over it and called us "his friends." Br. Kluge also told him the reason why we are here, namely to preach the Word of God to the Indians for their salvation and invited him also. He listened attentively and promised to think it over.

8th. Our two old Indian brethren, Joshua and Jacob, returned to their hunting ground a mile away.

9th. An old Cherokee with his Delaware wife (they live 8 miles from us) came on a visit. They brought venison and other things which we happened to need, so we were glad to do as they wished and give them tobacco in exchange. They showed themselves very well satisfied with what we gave them and said: "You are not like the other white people, the traders. They only give us a very little. From you we receive twice as much." Br. Kluge related to the old Cherokee that our brethren also lived among his people to preach them the Word of God. He expressed surprise but said nothing further.

11th. The old Cherokee left for his home. He promised to come again in four days.

13th. On account of the heavy rain our two old Indian brethren, Joshua and Jacob, could not return home. For this reason there could be no meeting held. Br. and Sr. Kluge who were at home alone (Br. Luckenbach had not yet returned from Cincinnatti), joined in spirit with our dear congregations and prayed to the dear Saviour that He should likewise reveal Himself graciously to us His servants, on this festival day, and fill our hearts with His peace; that as hitherto He should in the days to come be to us our Lord and Elder and graciously bless our work. We pledged Him anew our obedience and faithfulness, as His poor servants, and surrendered ourselves wholly unto Him to do whatever He would have us to do. The Saviour was very near unto us and consciously filled our hearts with comfort.

15th. Our two old Indian brethren, Joshua and Jacob, returned from the hunting ground, the former not being well. The latter had experienced the special protection of the Saviour. He tried to set a steel trap in the water for otters and fell into the water backwards. Being old and decrepit he had a hard time getting out and saving himself from drowning. It was a special Providence of God that he did not get into the steel trap with his hands or his feet, otherwise he would have lost one of them. The old brother and we thanked the dear Saviour for His protection in the danger which was so near to him.

16th. The old Cherokee and his wife came back for another visit. His wife who is sickly begged Br. Kluge to bleed her, which he did. She was very grateful because the bleeding brought her relief.

17th. We had the joy of welcoming home from his journey to Cincinnatti our dear Br. Luckenbach. We were very sorry that this journey had also been in vain. The long-expected goods, for which two trips to Cincinnatti have been made, have not yet been received by Mr. Ziegler. Br. Luckenbach heard through Mr. Ziegler that our things still lay in Pittsburg. They will hardly reach us this year for the Ohio is very low so that no boats can go down it. We spoke with our communicants today in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. The following may be mentioned. Indian Sr. Mary said: "I am so forgetful, therefore, I ask the Saviour each evening in secret that He should be with me and help me not to forget what the Saviour suffered for my sins, for so long as I remember that I am all right. It is true, I am very poor, but I constantly long after Him," etc.

Sr. Theresa said: "If something makes me angry or annoys me, I always recall that the Saviour was always patient until His death. I have prayed to Him, therefore, that He should take everything from my heart and mind that would make me angry. When I do this immediately all anger leaves my heart, and I am ashamed that I become angry so readily." She said further: "Every Sunday I make a mark with a coal in my house when I have fire. I am happy that we will soon have Holy Communion again. (N. B. We have Communion every six weeks.) When I partake of Communion it seems to me as if I saw with my eyes how the Saviour died for me, and I feel so happy," etc.

18th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

19th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the comfort of our hearts. The Lord was very near us.

20th. In the morning we had a thanksgiving liturgy, after which Br. Luckenbach preached on I Pet. 1:22. In the evening Br. Kluge led the meeting.

21st. A number of Indian women came here from Woapicamikunk for a visit. They told us that John

Thomas and his family who wanted to return to Goshen, (more of this may be found under date of the 17th) had changed their minds; that they had listened to the advice of the chiefs and that, at least for the time being, they had given up their journey. They had gone to the chase for the winter. This was very unpleasant news to us, because they will thereby lose themselves entirely among the heathen, as we have been afraid for a long time.

This evening and on the following days the evening meetings were held after the usual manner.

First Sunday in Advent, the 27th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual hour on the gospel for the day, Matt. 21—. At the beginning of the service we thanked the dear Lord and Saviour in a fervent prayer for His gracious revelation of Himself in connection with the preaching of His gospel during the church year just closed, and beseeched Him to continue graciously so to reveal Himself to us poor servants and to bless the proclamation of His Word. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

28th. There arrived here an Indian who had been sent with a large belt to the Mississippi as a messenger. The object of this message is to call all the Indian nations to war against the Hoschaschi,[9] who are said to live on the Missouri. The object is to exterminate this nation entirely because it has refused for many years to have any dealings with any other Indian nation and held the other Indian nations in contempt, regarding them as old women. A number of these Indians have been murdered recently. For this reason the Indian nations said to the Delawares, that if they, their grandfathers, would accompany them, they would then kill all the Hoschaschi and give their land to their grandfather, since he had no land of his own. The Delawares accepted and sent messengers to all the Indian nations to prepare for war against the Hoshaschi nation. The messengers, of which the one who arrived here was one, have all returned now, bringing with them a great many belts and strings of wampum with the answer that they will all get ready for war and in a month and a half gather at the Mississippi.

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[9] The Osage Indians of the Siouan family, who in the eighteenth century had fought especially with the Sauk and Foxes. The latter, like the Delawares, were of the Algonquian family.

December 2. The Indian messenger from the Delaware chiefs passed through our village again with a red piece of tobacco. He told us that the red-colored tobacco was to call all the Delaware Indians from the chase, that they might get ready for war. According to present appearances, there will be a great deal of bloodshed after New Year among the Indian nations. We are very glad and grateful to the Saviour that this murder and bloodshed will not take place in our neighborhood, and trust that He will graciously guard us.

4th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Luke 21:25 f. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and read the 15th chapter of Romans.

5th. Br. and Sr. Jacob went to the old Cherokee Indian (vid. Nov. 9th.) who has his camp 4 miles from here, to fetch some meat. They had been invited to do so by him whenever they needed any. They now acted on this invitation.

6th and 7th. Br. Luckenbach split shingles to cover our horse barn.

8th. and on the following days, as much as time permitted, we were busy with chopping firewood. In winter much of our time is taken up with this work, as we must do all our own wood chopping and must bring the wood home. For this work our horse is of great service.

9th. Br. and Sr. Jacob returned but brought with them very little meat, because the old Cherokees had very little on hand when they got there. The few old Indians which we have with us find it pretty hard to get along. So far we have not succeeded in getting any young Indians to join us, who could go hunting and provide the old ones with meat. Our Indians are too old to go on the chase, so that they are usually without meat, which is the principal article of food among the Indians. There is enough game in our neighborhood but there is no one here to hunt. This week we had heavy rains day and night, such as we have not had for a long time.

11th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time. There was no evening meeting on account of the heavy rain.

12th. and the following days Br. and Sr. Kluge's little daughter Henrietta suffered from a rash all over her face. It looked as if she had the smallpox. She suffered day and night and the poor child was greatly to be pitied. Sr. Kluge, who had not fully recovered from the fever, had another attack these days, suffering from it every other day. It was different from that in the fall. She had few chills but all the greater pain in her limbs. We [other] white people, Brs. Kluge and Luckenbach besides Br. and Sr. Kluge's little son, were in good health at the time. For this we were especially grateful to the dear Saviour as we now have our hands full of work. The meetings were held this week after the usual manner.

18th. At the usual time Br. Luckenbach preached on Phil. 4:4. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting. He spoke on the text for the day.

20th. The communicants had a separate meeting. Br. Kluge spoke on the daily text.

22d. We talked with our few brethren preparatory to the approaching Holy Communion. This time we could rejoice over their state of heart.

23d. We held a missionary conference at which it was decided to readmit to Communion a certain brother. When the announcement of this readmission was made on the 24th this brother showed his joy and gratitude to the Saviour with many tears. As it happens to be Christmas we decided to have Holy Communion tomorrow evening. This evening we began our Christmas celebration in commemoration of our Saviour's incarnation. We experienced great joy at the love feast and our hearts were filled with gratitude that our merciful God and Saviour condescended to become a child and to suffer and to die for us in order that we might live. This old story was new to us once more and brought our hearts many rich blessings. A heathen family of five who happened to be here on a visit attended the service and gave close attention.

25th. Christmas Day. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day. Luke 2:1 ff. He spoke about the birth of our Saviour and what he did for our happiness through His incarnation and death, both for time and for eternity. We heard today that Sr. Abigail's daughter died among the heathen, leaving two children behind, one of them being baptized. Many years ago she was herself baptized by the Brethren, but unfortunately she was untrue to this favor and lived like a heathen among the heathen. Sr. Abigail, as grandmother of these children therefore talked to us about them and expressed her desire to bring them here, to which we gave consent. In the evening we enjoyed the blood and body of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the comfort of our poor hearts. The Saviour was very near unto us and permitted us to enjoy His peace.

26th. In the evening we had a thanksgiving liturgy.

28th. It began to snow fast and continued until the 29th. During this snow storm the wife and daughter and grandson of the little Chief Hackingpomska arrived here. They were really in quest of horses which they have lost for a month. When they heard that it was not far from New Year, they remained here until then in order that they might attend the meetings.

30th. The frequently mentioned old Cherokee and his wife arrived here.

31st. At half past eleven, Br. Luckenbach called together all those present for the meeting by playing on the clarinet, in the absence of a bell, in front of the assembly hut. After the singing of a number of verses, Br. Kluge gave a short talk in which he reminded our Indian members of the many blessings of God our Saviour, and how many proofs of His faithfulness and assistance we experienced during the past year. He admonished them to thank the Saviour heartily for all the blessings enjoyed, at this the close of the year, also to ask His forgiveness for all in which we had grieved His faithful heart, etc. Thereupon we enjoyed a happy love feast. In this service we reviewed for our members the little that took place in our little congregation during the year, and when the clock pointed to the hour of midnight Br. Luckenbach struck up on his clarinet the tune: "Now thank we all our God," after the singing of which we fell on our knees with our brethren and fervently thanked our dear Saviour for all His love, faithfulness, and care shown us, and begged His forgiveness where we had grieved Him, and commended ourselves to His faithful care and to His further guidance and protection, with the fervent desire for us His poor servants, that during this year His gracious aim for our mission might be more nearly realized than heretofore, and that we might have the joy of gathering from among the heathen here a great many as the reward of His suffering. The Saviour revealed Himself most graciously to us and comforted our poor hearts with His dear presence, thus confirming His word to us: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Born and baptized, one child, namely, Br. and Sr. Kluge's little daughter	1 person
Adult person baptized, a widow with the name Elizabeth	1
Admitted to her first Communion, Theresa	1
Died, children	2

One family, John Thomas with his wife and three children, returned to Goshen on the Muskingum. 3 old widows left the congregation again and returned to the heathen. At the close of the year our little congregation consisted of three married couples, of which there are 5 communicants. Unbaptized, 1 woman with 6 children; total inhabitants of our village, 13 persons.

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FOR THE YEAR 1804

FIRST QUARTER

NEW YEAR'S DAY, *January 1.* Br. Kluge preached at the usual time on the text: Col. 1:12-14. A number of heathen women were attentive listeners. After the service one of these women came into our house to visit us. As usual, we made the most of this opportunity to talk to this woman concerning the object of our being here, and Br. Kluge asked her if she did not have a desire, too, to come and live with us to hear the Word of God, whereupon she answered: "I do not know yet." For the most part, this woman always shows herself very friendly. She is the sister of the old Chief Pakantschihiles. Christmas Day we had a similar conversation with two old baptized women, who had been baptized many years ago on the Muskingum. The name of the one is Paulina and she was baptized by Br. Schmick.[1] The name of the other is Justina. She was baptized in infancy. We asked the former if she would not yield herself to the Saviour and join the congregation, reminding her that she had a good opportunity to be converted and to renew her baptismal covenant, in that the Word of God was brought near enough to her. She answered: "I am the slave of whisky; it tasted very good to me, therefore, I cannot give it up and move to the believers." To the latter we said: "You too are baptized. We would rejoice if you and all who are baptized would join us in hearing the Word of God and anew yield their hearts to God," etc. She answered: "I do not know that I was ever baptized. Neither do I know what my name is. Perhaps I was quite small when it happened." We noticed quite well that she was ashamed of herself and that she did not want to be known as a baptized person. However, we heard from our members that she knew well enough that she was baptized, for she had a baptized mother. On the whole, we find that those who were formerly baptized are usually prejudiced against the Word of God and have no desire to hear it, being entirely lost in heathenism.

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[1] John Jacob Schmick was missionary at the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania and at Gnadenhütten in Ohio.

2d. Br. Kluge was attacked with fever and had it every other day. This was all the more severe because it was very cold these days. Br. and Sr. Jacob likewise suffered from fever. We gave them an emetic, which had the desired effect, so that they were soon over the fever. We were very sorry that we did not escape the fever this year, even in winter. There is also more sickness among the heathen than usual.

Epiphany, the 6th. In the forenoon we had morning prayer. In the afternoon, we had a pleasant love feast which two heathen women attended. They are here on a visit at present. In the evening the baptized had a separate meeting. We were sorry that we could not have any baptism at the festival of today. This is usually the case in other missions among the heathen. We looked to our dear Saviour in prayer and He graciously heard the petitions of His children, so that all the services of this festival day were attended with His dear presence, for which we fervently thanked Him in the evening meeting.

8th. Br. Luckenbach preached at the usual time.

9th. The fever quite left Br. Kluge for which we were very glad.

10th. We heard that Mr. Connor (a trader in Woapicamikunk) intended to go to Fort Hamilton. On the 11th Br. Luckenbach rode to him to find out if this were true, and to ask him if he would not bring us flour from there. We have been without flour the whole winter, and in consequence have to stamp corn every day and bake bread from it. The way the Indians stamp corn is not only hard work for us, but takes too much time. But apart from this, it is hard not to have a handful of flour in the house. If Mr. Connor, who always furnishes us with flour, had kept his word,[2] we would not have gotten into this difficulty. But since he did not keep his promise and we have not seen him since last summer, we have had to eat corn bread all winter, as mentioned above.

12th. Br. Luckenbach returned home. He had not found Mr. Connor. On the way home he stopped at the hut of the old Chief Hockingpomska, but he found no one in save the old Chief's wife, whose mother was baptized. This woman told Br. Luckenbach that she liked the believing Indians and would like to live among them, but her husband did not think as she did; he did not want to become a believer, which also kept her back. This old woman has frequently visited us and attended the meetings. Her husband, however, the afore-mentioned chief, is a great sorcerer, and does not want to hear of anything but heathenism.

15th. Preaching service at the usual hour, and in the evening a meeting was held.

16th. Mr. Connor arrived here because he had heard that we would like to talk with him. We asked him if he could procure flour for us in Fort Hamilton, because we were greatly in need of it. He promised to help us out if he could secure the horses which he expected shortly. The event proved that nothing would come of it. We received no flour, as he had promised us in the beginning. This whole month it was unusually cold and snowy. We spent a great deal of time hauling hay, for in summer we stacked our hay on the plain where we made the hay.

17th. On this and the following days we brought most of our hay home with our horse, for which we were very glad, because it would have been very difficult without any sled. On the 21st it began again to snow hard and kept it up day and night until the 23d, so that the snow was over two feet deep. On the roof of our house the snow was over half a foot in depth. We had to carry down many basketfuls. This cannot be avoided in houses built Indian fashion. At the same time it was exceptionally cold. Though we kept a large log fire going all the time, everything in our room froze hard. We had to chop open the water in the buckets every morning with the ax and we did not get warm all day long. At this time we reminded ourselves frequently of the good houses which our brethren enjoy in the congregations.

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[2] There is no previous mention of Mr. Conner having furnished flour to the missionaries. It was Mr. Gordon who had brought them flour from Fort Hamilton. The latter died sometime before November, 1804. See letter to Loskiel, November 23, 1804, *post,* 524.

22d. Br. Kluge preached at the usual hour on the text, Matt. 8:1-3. He dwelt especially on the great love and willingness of our Saviour to help every poor sinner who turns to Him in faith. A heathen woman was an attentive listener. She told one of our members that she had heard more than one Indian woman say that they would also like to become "Gindower!" (This is what they call the believing Indians; it means "suckling"), but that in their lifetime they had done so much wrong and were so fond of whisky that they believed there was no hope for them. She said: "And I am bad too." The Indian brother to whom she said this told her: "Tell the women who have told you that they have done so much evil, that if they would leave their sinful ways and would like to be saved, this was possible, because no one is too wicked in God's eyes if he but wants to be delivered from sin. He died for the great sinners also and wants them to be saved. Anyone who comes to Him through faith and yields himself to Him, learns that he will be helped," etc.

24th. Two Indian families, relatives of Br. Jacob, came here from the chase and visited in our village. They brought old Br. Jacob meat and bear's grease, which made the old brother very happy, because he himself can no longer hunt. From these Indians we learned that the Indians in the woods had no pleasure in the thought of going to war against the Schaschi nation on the Missouri,[3]

[3] The Osage, referred to as Hoschaschi under date of November 28, 1803.

and that they said if the chiefs wanted to fight, they might do it themselves.

25th. Indian Sr. Mary's brother visited us and attended the evening meeting, listening attentively.

27th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy with our members.

29th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on Rom. 12:1-2. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

30th. The weather moderated today, which was the first time in a month. We were very glad, because we were quite worn out from chopping so much wood and at the same time almost freezing.

February 1. In the afternoon we had a severe thunderstorm during which much rain fell.

2d. In the evening the communicants had a separate service preparatory to the approaching Holy Communion.

3d. We talked with our members individually, and we had reason to feel glad over their hearts' condition. There was evidence that the Spirit of God constantly strove with our members, for which we thanked our dear Saviour most heartily.

4th. We enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the comfort of our poor hearts. The Saviour was very near to us.

5th. First we had the thanksgiving liturgy, after which Br. Luckenbach preached on Rom. 5:8-9. Old Br. Jacob's son-in-law, a heathen, was present and listened attentively. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the daily text.

6th. Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach went to our sugar camp to provide wood for the sugar making. Br. and Sr. Jacob went to their sugar camp with the same object in view, to get everything in readiness for the sugar making.

8th. On this and following days our members were at home very little because they were busy getting ready for the sugar making.

11th. All came home for the Sabbath.

12th. Br. Kluge preached on Luke 8:4-8.

13th. Our members returned to their respective sugar camps. This being excellent weather for the boiling of sugar, everyone was busily engaged in cutting the sugar-maple trees. Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach also went to our sugar camp and cut our sugar trees, and as it was very favorable weather at the time, the sap flowed exceptionally fast, for which reason Br. Luckenbach slept in our sugar hut, so as to boil all the available sap.

14th. The little Chief Hackingpomska passed through our village; it being evening he remained overnight with Br. Joshua. He related that the chiefs had resolved to wait until next summer before they would make war against the Hoshaschi nation, since it was impossible to gather their young men at present, in that all were too widely scattered on the chase.

16th. Old Indian Sr. Abigail came to Br. Kluge and said, since she had been detained through sickness from fetching her two grandchildren, she wanted to do so now; that she wanted to meet them in an Indian town four days' journey away and bring them here. She would not be kept back, so we had to let her go although we hated to do it, because she is old and weak and may easily be overtaken with sickness in a heathen town. We saw very clearly that she desired to be away again for a while from her husband, Joshua, because they do not get along well together at all. They are wrangling with one another all the time. On the whole, these two people, Joshua and Abigail, have given us a great deal of trouble.

19th. Early in the morning all our members came home for the Sabbath. Br. Luckenbach preached on Luke 9:23-26. In the afternoon all returned to their sugar camps, because the weather was fine. Last week we made 47 pounds of good sugar for ourselves, and the sap is still flowing fast.

20th. After four months we once more had the pleasure of getting flour, in that Mr. Fisher of Fort Hamilton brought 1400 pounds on pack horses to the Indian land.

From him we bought some. Although it was very expensive, namely $6 a hundred, it was soon disposed of and we were only glad to get some. At first we hesitated whether we should buy such expensive flour, but, as mentioned above, not having had any for four months and having had to live on crushed corn during that time, we could not stand it any longer, as this daily stamping of corn is too hard.

21st. An old Indian came into our village and since none of our Indians were at home he came into our house to rest a while. Br. Kluge asked him if he had known the believing Indians on the Muskingum, to which he answered that he not only had seen the believing Indians on the Muskingum but also on the Susquehanna and even in Bethlehem, and that he had been acquainted with them, too. Furthermore Br. Kluge asked him if he had ever heard the Word of God to which he answered: "Yes; but I never bother about it. Many Indians received it and believed, but many, too, lost their lives on the Muskingum." Question: "Would you not like to hear the Word of God now and receive it and learn to know your Creator? He loves all mankind and also out of love became incarnate for you, and died for the sins of men and rose from the dead and ascended into Heaven; he who believes on Him and receives Him, shall have his sins forgiven and will go to God in Heaven and will live forever," etc. He answered: "Perhaps it is all right for one to accept the Word of God; I cannot tell." It appeared that he had little desire to do so for he would say nothing further and began to talk of other things, took leave and went on his way again.

22d. Br. Kluge went to the Indian town 4 miles from here to get tea from a trader. We have had no coffee all winter, and also no tea for some time. Meanwhile we had to drink sassafras tea. We had been unable to get either tea or coffee. The trader kindly lent us some tea even though he himself had but little.

23d. Br. Kluge visited our Indians in their sugar camps. They have as yet made but little sugar, and since the weather turned cold again there was little prospect for making any. Recently there have been more pigeons in this neighborhood than we have ever seen here. Thousands of them may be seen all day long. When they alight and then fly away again, it is as if there was a cloud in the sky. We regret exceedingly that we have no gun for birds; otherwise we could shoot a large number each day. As it is we must merely look on.

25th. Our members came home for the Sabbath. It is to be regretted that our few brethren are all old and decrepit and no longer fit for hunting, for which reason they are almost all the time without food. Indian Sr. Mary who was always busy with planting and sugar making and consequently got along better than any, all of a sudden began to suffer one time after the other from a swollen neck and arms, which hinders her greatly, especially at present during the sugar making. Her husband, old Br. Jacob, cannot do anything any more.

26th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on Matt. 15:22, etc.

In the afternoon our Indians returned to their sugar camps; consequently, as is usual at present, we were alone in our village. To our great sorrow Br. Kluge was again taken with fever, which is the third attack since fall. This is very hard in cold weather.

27th. Br. Joshua and Br. Jacob were called to the side of an Indian not far from our place by the news that he had found three large bears on the other side of the river, that these had hidden in trees and that they should help him cut them down, then they could have a share of the meat and could provide themselves with grease. Though they went immediately and cut down one of the trees, to their great disappointment they found that for their pains they received nothing but the knowledge that at one time there had been a bear in the hollow tree, but that it was no longer there.

28th. A young Indian who is still a heathen, the grandson of old Br. Jacob, came to visit us. Among other things Br. Kluge asked him where he lived and if he had a house of his own. He answered that he had no house of his own; that he spent most of his time in the woods hunting. Br. Kluge told him: "Your grandfather (our old Br. Jacob) has two houses and would be glad to let you have one to live in, for he (as we) wishes very much that you might become acquainted with your Creator and believe on Him." Br. Kluge then related to him what the Saviour out of love had done for us poor human beings, and that anyone who believed on Him should not perish but have everlasting life; that those who do not receive Him should go down to eternal punishment after this life, etc. Thereupon the Indian said: "Perhaps it might be well for me to live here, too, but I am not sure yet." Unfortunately this is the answer of most Indians, and that is as far as it goes.

March 1. It began to rain hard and the days following it became very cold, so that sugar making is past for the present.

2d. On this and subsequent days Br. Kluge suffered from fever, it being especially violent every other day.

4th. Br. Luckenbach preached on Matt. 27:46.

6th. The weather moderated and the sap began to flow somewhat from the sugar trees. Because the weather is so changeable and cold, sugar making does not amount to much, although in this community February is really the month to boil sugar.

8th. A Wyandotte Indian passed through our village and because our Indian brethren were not at home, he visited us in our house. When we learned that he could talk the Delaware language fluently we talked to him about the Saviour and admonished him to accept the gospel for his salvation. Whereupon he told us that he had been baptized by a French priest a long time ago, but that he knew nothing of God, although he prayed every morning to Him that He should keep him in health. Br. Kluge told him if he liked to hear the Word of God it would be well if he would move to us, then he and his children would have opportunity to hear a great deal of God his Creator; that he could learn to know Him, so that he might know to whom he prayed; that God who was also his Creator loved mankind; that He suffered for the sins of men, so that all who believed on Him might be forever with Him in Heaven, etc. He told us he would think it over, and with that he took friendly leave of us.

9th. The Indian mentioned above again passed through our village on his way back. He again came into our house and was very friendly, but did not remain long because he was anxious to get home.

10th. Two Indian women with baskets and brooms on their back passed through our village. They wanted to exchange them for salt. They also visited in our house. The one acted in a very friendly manner as if she had known us for a long time. She spoke English fluently and also German quite well. She told us that she had come here from Fairfield last fall; that she had lived near Fairfield and was well acquainted with our brethren there. She also said that a long time ago she had been baptized by an English minister and had received the name Peggy.[4] However, she said she wanted to stay here with her friends and perhaps she might move to us, etc. Whereupon we answered her that if it was really her intention to renew her baptismal covenant with God and live for Him, we would be glad to have her move here, etc. Next day the two women went to their dwelling place again with the promise to come soon again.

11th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Luke 23:42-43. In the afternoon our members returned to their sugar camps.

12th. The afore-mentioned Wyandotte passed through our village again and paid us a very friendly visit.

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[4] Frequent reference is made to this Indian woman in Zeisberger's *Diary.* She was baptized in New Jersey by David Brainerd, a Presbyterian missionary. Bliss (ed.), *Diary of David Zeisberger,* 2:100.

14th. A number of Indians brought their guns to our Indian Br. Joshua for repairs. He receives a dollar for the least little thing. In this way he earns quite a little. The Indians very greatly desire that there should be a smith in our place, so that they might have their rifles, tomahawks, and other articles repaired here.

16th. The weather was again exceptionally fine for sugar making, so that we and our brethren were busy at our sugar camps.

18th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time on the text, Isa. 53:4. In the afternoon our members returned to their sugar camps. Toward evening such a mass of pigeons appeared as had never been seen by us or even the Indians. As far as one could see the air was full of them. It was like a cover between heaven and earth. There was all about us the noise as of a high waterfall. It lasted a quarter of an hour, after which they lit on the prairie near our place.

20th. To our sorrow we hear that the old Indian Sr. Abigail, Joshua's wife, passed away four days ago in a sugar camp about 10 miles from here. She was buried there in the woods. As mentioned under date of Feb. 16th, her intention was to bring from an Indian town, four days' journey away, her two grandchildren, whose mother died recently. Though we did everything imaginable to keep her from going, because of her age and because she had been suffering from asthma for a number of years, she insisted on going after her grandchildren, saying, "During my absence I will not forget the Saviour. I will return soon." Thereupon we let her go in peace. She did not get further than the abovementioned sugar camp in the woods, where a number of squaws were making sugar. There she took sick and died without our hearing the least bit about it until she had been buried four days, when an Indian brought the news to our village.

Of her life in this time we cannot tell much, since we knew her but three years. She came here with us from

Goshen as a widow. As long as she remained a widow we can testify that she followed the Saviour in a childlike manner. Her whole bearing was in conformity with a communicant sister. She gave us joy. Nov. 3, 1801, she was joined in marriage to Br. Joshua, after which her life was subject to many changes, because she lived in almost constant strife with her husband Joshua, which was not her fault alone, but also that of Joshua. This was the reason why she lost heart entirely at times, but she always found her way back again to the Saviour as a penitent sinner, which, too, was her heart's condition when she left on the journey mentioned above. How she was at the last moments of her life, we unfortunately cannot tell, though we wish and hope that as a poor sinner she happily went to the Saviour.

23d. We had the pleasure of receiving letters from our dear brethren Loskiel, Cunow, and Van Vleck, besides the monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference and the weekly reports of the U. E. C., also a textbook. All these things were an agreeable present to us, and this all the more because we had looked for them so anxiously for a long time. At the same time we had the agreeable announcement from Mr. Ziegler in Cincinnatti that our long-expected clothing from Bethlehem had arrived safely in Cincinnati on Christmas Day. This and especially the loving interest of our dear brethren in the congregations, which we learned with pleasure from the letters received, incited us to childlike gratitude toward our dear Saviour and the dear brethren, who remember us before the dear Saviour in prayer.

25th. Br. Luckenbach preached at the usual time.

26th. We all stopped with sugar making for this season, because the sap does not flow well any more. We white brethren made 212 pounds of good sugar besides 6 gallons of molasses.

27th. All the Indian members returned from their sugar camps. Today we spoke individually with our few communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy

Communion. To our joy we noticed the work of grace of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of our few communicants. This cheers us when courage fails us.

28th. We began the reading of the history of the sufferings of our Lord and Saviour. In the evening we conducted with our members a foot-washing meeting. The Lord was very near to us and let us feel His peace.

29th. In the evening, to the comfort of our poor hearts we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion.

30th. In the morning we had the thanksgiving liturgy. After this meeting we read the history of the sufferings for the day in three parts. In the afternoon two Indians, of whom one had been baptized by the Brethren in infancy with the name of Levi, came to visit us, and attended the reading of the crucifixion of our Saviour with great interest. After the meeting the baptized man said, "From the Indians in the next town I learned that you had a great occasion today, for which reason I came that I might attend your meeting. And now I recall having heard the account you read just now when I was a boy and still living among the believers." Br. Kluge begged him to consider faithfully how wonderfully God loved mankind, that He allowed Himself to be so cruelly martyred for our sins, so that all who in faith embrace Him, yielding themselves to Him, might receive the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. We admonished him to renew his baptismal covenant and surrender himself to Him, then he, too, would learn how gracious the Saviour is to sinners who yield themselves with their whole heart to Him, etc.

Great Sabbath, the 31st. In the afternoon we had a love feast with our members. Once more we reminded ourselves of the immeasurable love of our Saviour that He permitted Himself to be crucified for our eternal salvation, and to be laid in the grave that we may some day live with Him in joy, and we thanked Him most fervently for it all.

Herewith we greet all our dear brethren in the congregations and commend ourselves and mission to their prayer and remembrance before the dear Saviour.

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

SECOND QUARTER

Easter Day, April 1. In the morning before sunrise we gathered in our assembly hut and prayed a part of the Easter litany, after which we formed a procession and marched to God's Acre, where we prayed the latter part of the Easter litany. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon. In this service he also read a part of the history of the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. Five heathen were present and listened attentively. Br. Luckenbach asked the one, who could speak English well, if he had not thought of wanting to learn to know God his Creator and to yield himself to Him, whereupon the Indian answered: "No; I never yet thought of the matter." Br. Luckenbach then told him of the suffering and resurrection of the Saviour. In the afternoon these heathen returned home. In the evening we read the remaining part of the history of the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, with which we closed this day, for us and for our members a day of blessing. During the reading of the acts of suffering of our Saviour, as well as during all the services of the holy day, the dear Saviour was very near to us, so that here also in our loneliness we could feel the comfort of Jesus' suffering and death in our hearts, and could bring with bowed hearts to our dear Lord and Saviour our thank offering for His great love to us and all mankind.

2d. Everybody went about his own business, since our members are accustomed to celebrate but one day.

3d. Our old Br. Jacob went to a creek three miles from here, where there are a great many otters, to set his otter traps. Joshua built a chimney on the house of an Indian captain living in an Indian town 4 miles away.

We do not like to see this because he might suffer spiritually. To our sorrow we have often had to witness this, but he had promised the Indian captain without saying anything to us about it, so we could not very well hinder him from going.

4th. Colonel Gibson's son of Post Vincennes arrived with letters from the Governor to the Delaware chiefs. We have not yet learned the contents of the letters.

5th. On this and following days we white brethren were busy writing letters to our dear brethren in Bethlehem.

7th. Our old Br. Jacob came back from his otter hunt and brought with him two large otter and four raccoon skins. The old brother was very happy over this catch of so few days, for he is old and poor and unable to earn anything in any other way. An otter skin here brings 5 dollars.

8th. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. All our Indian Christians being at home, we had them come together in our house to talk with them about their fields. The occasion was the constant complaint of not having sufficient corn and of not having good fences around their fields. This is their own fault. They always lay the blame of their corn shortage to the fences. On this occasion we talked the matter of their field work over thoroughly and made them the following proposition: each one should split several hundred rails, and we, though we have a fence about our field, would contribute to them between 300 and 400 rails, after which everyone should do all in his power for once to build a good, strong fence around the field, if possible, so that all would have their corn protected against cattle, and then the reason of the corn shortage would appear. All were agreed and promised to do what they could.

9th. Old Br. Jacob and his two grandchildren again left on an otter hunt. We white people made the necessary preparations for Br. Luckenbach's journey to Cincinnati.

10th. In the morning our dear Br. Luckenbach began his journey to Cincinnati to get our articles of clothing from Mr. Ziegler. We desire for him, with all our heart, the gracious protection and assistance of our dear Saviour.

11th. We were busy with garden digging and seed sowing.

12th. A number of Indian women from the Spanish territory on the Mississippi came here to visit their friends who recently moved to the Indian town 4 miles away, and thus visited also in our village. They related many wonderful tales of the land on the Mississippi, which is customary on the part of Indians who come from a distant community. Among other things, these women told us that the land on the Mississippi where they lived was so sweet that the Indians ate it like sugar; that the children ate a great deal of it all the time and it did not hurt them in the least. "In that event," one of our Indian sisters said to them, "you have no need of corn if you can eat earth." "Oh, yes," answered the heathen women, "we also plant corn; earth we only eat for pleasure," etc. Credulous Indians, and there are only too many, accept such foolish talk as the truth, and frequently crowds move to a place like that.[5]

13th. Joshua, who had finished his work for the Indian captain living in the Indian town 4 miles from here, returned home.

14th. Old Br. Jacob likewise returned home from the woods and again brought an otter and a number of raccoons, over which he was very happy.

15th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day: John 10:12. The wife of the frequently mentioned old Cherokee attended the service and listened attentively. She happened to be here on a visit. After the service she came to Br. and

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[5] The Moravian missionaries were evidently not aware of the practice of clay eating which was apparently taken over by certain of the poor whites and negroes of the South from the Indians.

Sr. Kluge and said that she and her husband (the old Cherokee) had thought of moving to us in planting season in order to plant near us, because much of their corn was stolen, almost every year, from their field in the heathen towns, something which they had no fear of here. Br. Kluge told her that we would be very glad to have them move here and hear the Word of God diligently, then we would have the opportunity to tell them much of God, how He loves men, and if they would accept the great Word and were obedient to it, and would believe on the God who gave His life for the sins of mankind, it would be well with them spiritually and temporally, etc. She listened attentively to what was told her and promised to carry out the intention mentioned before. In the afternoon Br. Kluge talked with our Sr. Theresia. She has some acquaintance with the Delaware language, so he repeated the main part of the sermon for her. He dwelt especially upon the faithfulness of our Saviour toward those who believed on Him and were surrendered to Him, saying that such He called His sheep, etc. Thereupon she said: "Oh, I rejoice greatly that the Saviour receives the believer so faithfully; this serves me well, for I am very poor and often think: Oh, if I can only remain faithful to the Saviour until I die! When I am concerned over my condition I pray to the dear Saviour that He should keep me in the faith and also prepare for me a little place in Heaven. Further than that I desire nought else." She wept freely. We lovingly comforted her and admonished her to pray to the dear Saviour without ceasing, then He would surely keep her with Him, etc. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

17th. Our Ind. Br. and Sr. Jacob accompanied the Cherokee woman to her camp in the woods, up the river, to hunt wild potatoes and to chop down trees in which there is wild bee honey. The Cherokee woman knows where these are to be found and wants to show the place to them.

18th. On this and the following days we had constant rain. Most of our Indian brethren not being at home, no services could be held on these days and on the 22d.

23d. We had the pleasure of welcoming our dear Br. Luckenbach back from his journey to Cincinnati. We rejoiced with him over the gracious protection of our dear Saviour on this trip and we returned fervent thanks to our dear Saviour for it. To our great joy Br. Luckenbach brought with him the long-expected articles of clothing, which had come this winter to Cincinnati from Bethlehem. They arrived safe and sound. We thank our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference most heartily for these greatly needed articles of clothing. After Br. Luckenbach had rested somewhat from the journey mentioned above, in accordance with the resolution of the 8th, on the 25th all began with the rail splitting for the general fence about our cornfields, with which we were all busy on the following days of this week. In the evening the meetings were held after the usual manner.

29th. Br. Kluge preached on the text: Rom. 6:11-13. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

30th. and the following days Br. Luckenbach and Br. Kluge, with our horse, dragged the rails made last week out of the woods to the river. Indian Sr. Mary and her daughter and grandchildren brought the rails across the river in two large canoes and put them on our plantation. We finished this work the 2d of May.

May 4. We remembered the festival of the Single Sisters, and wished them on this their festival day the blessing of our dear Saviour.

6th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day and dwelt expressly on the words of our Saviour: "Verily, verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, it shall be given unto you." In the evening Br. Luckenbach repeated in English the main contents of the sermon to Sr. Theresia. Her husband translated it into her own tongue. We do this as a general thing because we know that she understands but little of the Delaware. We are very much interested in her growth in the knowledge of our Saviour and His Word. She was very happy to hear something of the Saviour in her own language. We entertain the hope that all this will eventually prove a blessing to her husband also, who has a Christian name but who is an unconverted man. Today the frequently mentioned old Cherokee with his Delaware wife and two young Cherokee Indians who are relatives of his, arrived here bag and baggage. They were very friendly and the wife said that they had come to make their home here. She did not know whether the young Cherokee Indians would remain too. Her husband (the old Cherokee) is a chief among his people and these two young Indians of his family had come to call him back home again. She had heard that the following spring they would return to the land of the Cherokees. Further than that she did not know anything. I told her to remain with us no matter what they did. What will become of these people or what their object is, time will tell. In the meantime we will try to acquaint them with our rules, with the explanation that all who want to live here must live in accordance with them. Wild as these people are, we heartily wish that they may hear the Word of God with blessing to their hearts, remain here and become a reward for the sufferings of Jesus.

7th. We had the misfortune of having our horse, while in pasture, bitten in his mouth by a rattlesnake. When we discovered it half of the head was swollen terribly. The swollen part was quite hard and terribly hot. This occurrence gave us no little concern. We knew full well that our horse would surely die unless some remedy would be found in short order. We immediately told our Indian members of our trouble, and fortunately the old Cherokee knew of a good remedy which consisted of a variety of roots. He immediately hunted the roots, crushed them on a log and then laid them in a little water. He told us to wash the swollen part with this mixture. We did so faithfully with good effect. Not only did the swelling keep from spreading but in 24 hours it had gone down by half and our Indians assured us that the horse was out of danger. We were very glad of it. On the whole there are an exceptionally large number of snakes here this spring. Several days ago while on our way to drag rails we fortunately discovered two large black snakes in the footpath. We were almost upon them when we saw them, thus having time to kill them. At noon when we returned home we met two of another kind in a similar manner on the path we traveled. For this reason one has to be very cautious in going to the woods this spring.

8th. A beginning was made with the fence on the side of the woods. It is to be built of logs all along our plantation. To this end the logs had been dragged in place last week.

Ascension Day, the 10th. In the morning at the usual time Br. Kluge conducted the service in commemoration of the glorious ascension of our Lord and Saviour. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day. In both meetings the dear Saviour was very near unto us and blessed us sensibly with all the merits of His life, suffering, and death. This forenoon we also spoke with our few communicants preparatory to the approaching Holy Communion. We rejoiced over their state of heart. We thanked the Saviour that He assists us so powerfully by His Spirit in our work with the souls in this place, and that He is so active in their hearts, of which their testimony gave abundant witness this time.

11th. This evening we had the liturgy.

12th. We enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. The dear Saviour looked down upon us most graciously and gave us His peace, which anew comforted and refreshed our hearts.

13th. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the watchword for the day.

14th. The rail fence of our plantation along the river was built, all the men and women assisting. The recently arrived Cherokees were especially busy so that, by evening, the fence on this side was finished. We now view with pleasure our whole plantation, which consists of 20 acres, enclosed with a good fence, which is something we long desired most earnestly. Though this large fence around our and the Indian brethren's field cost us a great deal of effort and work, because we have so few people who are really fit to work and we had to do most of it with the assistance of the old Frenchman, our own joy and that of our brethren was all the greater now that the long-desired fence was at last a fact, and that everybody can now plant what he wants without fear that the cattle will destroy everything, as has been the case other years. Everybody can now keep cattle and plant as much as he likes without one proving a hindrance to the other. Accordingly we promise ourselves a great deal of benefit.

16th and *17th.* we cleaned our fields.

18th. Our Indian members helped us plant corn, and by noon of the 19th our whole field was planted with corn, potatoes and pumpkins.

Whitsunday, the 20th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day: John 14:23. He dwelt especially on the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men. We thanked our dear Saviour with sinful though penitent hearts for sending the Spirit for our comfort and salvation. We asked for pardon for everything we did that grieved the Holy Spirit and for not always being obedient to his tender voice, as should ever be the case, and thus saddening His faithful heart. We engaged in silent prayer and besought Him to strive with us in the days to come as He did in the past, and evermore remain with us, so that in all our actions we may be led and ruled by Him. A heathen family was present at the service and listened attentively. In the afternoon the man of the family mentioned came to Br. Kluge and said: "My friend! I believe that everything is true that you said in the meeting about God; those are great words. Many years ago I heard the Word of God in Gnadenhütten and Schönbrunn. There they have such a large assembly hut. I always had to sit in the rear, and not hearing well I could not understand very well. Here you have a small assembly hut and I did not sit far from you, so I understood everything. I want to consider it," etc. Br. Kluge begged him to do this and not to forget, adding: "My friend! You are very old and it is high time that you are converted if you do not want to be lost. If you surrender yourself to God and believe on Him who also gave His life for you, you will realize more and more that what you heard in the service today is the truth indeed." In the afternoon we had a heavy thunderstorm accompanied by severe rain that lasted until late at night, so that the evening meeting had to be omitted.

21st and 22d. It rained unceasingly day and night, so that one could see the White River rise and by the 23d it was even with the banks of our plains, which made us fear our fence and planted corn would be washed away, should it rain another day. Fortunately it stopped raining on the 24th and the water fell as rapidly as it arose. We were heartily glad for it and thanked God that the threatened flood passed without doing the least damage.

25th. We and the Indian brethren were still busy with corn planting.

26th. We white people finished our planting. In the afternoon an Indian messenger sent by the chiefs to all the Indian towns came to our village also and told our Indians that in 6 days the chiefs would go to Fort Wayne to get the annual present from Congress and to divide it among the Indians; that those who wanted a part of it should present themselves in Fort Wayne at the time appointed. Our Indians answered that they had no horses and consequently could not go there.

27th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day: John 3:1-3. In the afternoon we talked with the Cherokees who recently moved here. We told them the object of living with believers and at the same time acquainted them with our rules and explained them, showing that the rules given as they were by God, were a necessity for believers. Thereupon we asked them what they thought of it. They all said that they liked it here and would like to remain to hear the Word of God and that they were willing to govern themselves and live in accordance with it as much as possible. Thereupon our Indian members extended their hands and expressed their good wishes with the assurance that we loved them with all our heart and would help them all we could.

Thus far they have behaved very well while in our midst. They come to the meetings faithfully and are very friendly toward us. Our heartfelt desire and prayer to the dear Saviour is that this Cherokee family, which consists of five persons, may become a reward for His sufferings. Oh, how we would then rejoice!

Toward evening two Indians came here and attended the evening meeting.

28th. and following days our Cherokees were busy hunting. Every time they went they brought back each day a deer or two, so that we and our Indians always had enough venison, for they always shared it with us all.

31st. Our Cherokees left for the woods to be gone for a number of days. They intend to hunt, especially for bear.

June 2. One of the young Cherokees came out of the woods to get a horse because they had killed a large bear and a number of deer and could not carry all the meat. In the evening they came home with a large horseload of meat and divided it as usual among the inhabitants here.

3d. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on John 3:16. A highly respected Indian captain from the Indian town four miles away was an attentive listener. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

4th. Our interpreter went to Fort Wayne to get his share of the gifts there divided among the Indians. We did not like to see it but we had to let him go, because they believe they will become poorer than the other Indians if they do not get their share of the presents. This is wholly unfounded for we have seen Indians go there and return with precious little. To avoid dissatisfaction we allowed him to go and have the experience, with the hope that they might themselves stay at home in the future.

6th. An old Indian woman asked for permission to plant here and also to live with us. We have known this family for some time so we granted her request, with the hope that they might hear the Word of God to the conversion of their souls. She returned to her family with the promise that she would soon come back. In the afternoon there rode through our village a large number of Indians who were curiously painted and ornamented with feathers, silver rings, and arm bands. They wore calico coats. Their leader wore a red soldier coat with green flaps and cuffs. They had their tomahawk at their side. They appeared greatly pleased with themselves. To Br. Kluge who happened to stand in front of his door they extended their hands in the most friendly fashion and then rode on. One sees some wonderful garbs in this place, for one tries to outdo the other and so disfigures himself worse than the other fellow.

7th. Our old Br. Jacob also rode to Fort Wayne to get his share of the presents. Greatly as we would like to do it, we can not hinder our Indians from going there. A great many Indians come together and our Indian brethren are in danger of suffering spiritually. For this reason we wish them all the more the gracious protection of the Saviour and begged them not to allow the Saviour to get out of their sight and to think of Him constantly. They promised to do so.

8th. For the same reason one of our Cherokees also left for Fort Wayne.

10th. Having no interpreter, we could have no preaching service. Instead we prayed the litany in Indian with our few Indian members.

11th. On this and the following days Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach were busy with weeding the cornfield. Our Indian brethren were similarly engaged in their fields. This work took all week. We had no visits from Indians this week; the majority of them are in Fort Wayne.

17th. Having no interpreter, instead of the usual sermon we sang with our members an Indian translation of a Passion liturgy.

19th. An Indian who was somewhat drunk came into our village. Fearing that he might have whisky concealed on his person, we went to him and talked to him in a friendly way. We begged him to make no trouble in our place and to go away soon. We reminded him that he well knew that no Indian was to bring whisky or to be drunk in our village. To this he answered: "Yes, I do know that. I have no whisky and I am not drunk either. My head is only somewhat hot; not however from whisky for I drank nothing but schwape (a honey and water concoction)." Into this drink they mix certain herbs and then let it stand for awhile until it turns sour, after which they drink it with a great deal of satisfaction. He said further: "I have long thought of moving here, but Joshua did not fix my gun right; it does not shoot straight so that I cannot shoot a deer with it, for which reason I did not move to you," etc. Thereupon he took friendly leave of us.

20th. Our two brethren and our Cherokee returned home from Fort Wayne. Each brought with him a whole suit of clothing after the Indian fashion, which was given them as their share. According to the prices around here what each one received amounted to about $12. They related that they were told in the name of the American Government that in the future the yearly present would be in the form of money, the object of this being that white workmen would be sent them to build good fences about their fields, and also to put up good houses for them, thus enabling them to keep all kinds of cattle as the white people do. These laborers are to be paid out of the money which the Indians receive annually. But in order that the wages of the laborers should not get too high they were to get their young men to work along so that the money would go as far as possible and all expenses could be met. The Indians have also been offered more than once all sorts of farm implements like plows, oxen etc. so that they might live like civilized people. They were assured that they would be much happier if they would accept this offer of the Government. This matter was again brought to their attention in Fort Wayne. This as well as the former thing was agreed to by the Delaware chiefs. In their Council the chiefs are reported to have said to one another: "This time we have to agree to the proposition, for they continue to bring up the matter and give us no rest. If we agree they will say no more about it." The building of fences is to begin the following spring. Time will tell if they will carry out their promises, for they are ready enough to promise, but to fulfill is a different matter altogether.

A message of the Cherokee nation was also sent to the Delawares with a long string of wampum. In their speech to the Delaware and Twechtowe Indians they said among other things: "We will make a straight way from our land to you so that we may be able to see one another well. We will clear this road of all stones and thorns and brambles so that we can easily go from one to the other, there being nothing in the way," etc. This message was answered in a very friendly and ceremonious way by the Delawares and Twechtowes. Two of the Cherokees came to our village to visit the Cherokees living in this neighborhood and remained here for a while.

21st. We spoke with our communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. There was once more a sad revelation. Our interpreter Joshua and a communicant sister had gone on a drunken spree among the heathen, for which reason they had to be suspended from Holy Communion. Such occurrences are very painful to us, especially so as we have but 4 communicants as it is.

23d. In the evening our sad hearts were comforted in the enjoyment of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour. The Saviour was very near unto us so that our hearts were in this way refreshed.

24th. We first had a thanksgiving liturgy and after that the sermon on Luke 15:1-10 by Br. Luckenbach. In the evening Br. Kluge read to the Indian members the 2d chapter of the first epistle of John, which was translated as usual one verse after the other.

25th. Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach stacked the hay which they made last week. In the afternoon we again had the pain of hearing that one of our Indians had become drunk in a Twechtowe camp 3 miles from here where they had brought a large quantity of whisky. How terribly this hurts us one may readily imagine, especially so since this Indian brother is our interpreter who but recently had to be suspended from the Holy Communion on account of great sins committed by him. And now he has again plunged into all sorts of heathen sins instead of showing himself penitent for his former wrongdoing. He has given the heathen occasion to speak ill of the Lord's cause. Because he has sinned so terribly against God and the congregation, he is ashamed to come here and seeks to excuse himself among the heathen with all sorts of lies. In this way he sins still more, which causes us to sigh to the Saviour not a little. This man has given us a great deal of trouble already. We always bore with him patiently in the hope that he might after all change in time. Now however all hope for his betterment is gone, and we can do nothing more than pray to the dear Saviour for him, that He should save him from entire destruction.

27th. On this and following days we were again busy with stacking hay which is hard work here on the plains. In the great heat we refreshed ourselves with vinegar and water and a piece of bread which is all that one can get here. Meanwhile we were content and reminded ourselves of Jesus' sweat of the brow which also lightened this work.

30th. In the afternoon we had a severe hailstorm which laid our corn flat on the ground. "This," we thought, "will undoubtedly injure our corn greatly." Meanwhile we did not worry, believing that the Saviour could give us more than might be supposed at the time, though there was little to be seen. To our joy, our trust was not in vain, for in two days nearly all of the corn had straightened itself again, so that one could see but little effect of the storm, for which we heartily thanked the Saviour.

THIRD QUARTER

July 1. Having no interpreter, from necessity Br. Kluge made his first address in the Indian language. Seeing how we burn with the desire to tell them something about the Saviour, our Indian members were deeply impressed, though our effort was still most imperfect. In the evening Br. Luckenbach read a part of the Easter litany to our members. We are always very sorry that we have no Indian translations of God's Word which we could use in the absence of our interpreter.

2d. Two of our young Cherokees went off hunting, to be gone 20 days. The old Cherokee hunts every night in a canoe on the river, because the deer come to the river for water during the night. He is very skillful in this mode of hunting, so almost every morning he brings home two or three deer. Accordingly, we have no lack of meat.

4th. To our great sorrow we heard that our former interpreter Joshua was running after the heathen women in the heathen towns to get a wife, and because he could not attain his end without large gifts, according to heathen custom, he sold his cow and everything he could turn into money, to help him the better gain his object. With sorrow we are astonished over the blindness of this man, especially so because he lacks judgment. But it is another evidence of what sinful inclinations will lead to if they rule one.

5th. In the evening we had a song service with our members.

6th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

8th. Br. Kluge gave a short Indian address, and in the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted a song service. At her own request, he read to our Sr. Theresia in her house a short passage from the English Bible, which her husband translated into her language.

9th. We learned that the middle of our haystack was wet and that the hay on one side was quite hot, for which reason, we had to tear it down and dry the hay so that it would not spoil, in time. This gave us more work with the hay.

10th. To our great joy we received a letter from our dear Br. Loskiel, together with the monthly reports. To our joy and comfort we learn from the former that our dear brethren take a loving interest in us and our mission, and from the latter, we gleaned pleasant news. With especial interest we learned of the removal of a part of the Fairfield Indian congregation to the Petquotting. We wish Br. and Sr. Oppelt and Br. Haven the gracious help of the dear Saviour in their new undertaking.[6] This news was all the more precious to us because Petquotting is but six days' journey from here and we, in this way, are nearer to one another. Oh, how we wish we had more opportunity to go to Cincinnati! Then we could keep up an unbroken correspondence with our dear brethren in Bethlehem as well as with the dear brethren and sisters in Indian congregations at other places. Here in our loneliness it is always a great joy to hear something of our dear brethren and of the gospel among Christians and heathen. Unfortunately we have little opportunity to send letters from here to Cincinnati to be mailed. The letters mentioned above were brought us by a silversmith who lives in an Indian town 10 miles from here and makes all sorts of silver rings and things. This poor fellow complained that some time ago he had been badly treated in his house by drunken Indians. He showed us his body which was marked pitifully and still bore bloody stripes. According to what he said the occasion was this: The Indians tried to force him to provide them with whisky. Being unable to grant their wish because he had no whisky, they bound him and beat him until they were tired out; then they left him half dead, lying in his blood. We sympathized greatly with the poor man and secretly thanked the dear Saviour that He had thus far protected us graciously from drunken Indians.

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[6] The renewal of the mission on the Pettquotting, at New Salem, was determined upon at the General Mission Conference

12th. In the evening we had a song service with our few brethren.

13th. We sang a Passion liturgy.

15th. For the first time Br. Luckenbach held a short service in Indian. We do our best to learn Indian in the time at our disposal, but we find it very hard because we have no Indian translations at all which would serve as a help. In the afternoon we had a sad experience in our

held at Goshen from October 10 to 21, 1803. Gottfried Sebastian Oppelt was sent to the Fairfield Mission in 1799 and in 1802 began a mission among the Chippewa in Upper Canada. John Ben Haven was ordained at Goshen on October 21, 1803. De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger*, 660, 662, 663.

economical establishment. Our cow, which had given birth to a calf two days ago, died. For several days we noticed that she was sick and consequently put forth every effort to help her, but in vain. When we opened her we found that her "manifold" was quite dried up. From this disease a man in Fort Hamilton lost 20 head of cattle.

16th. We had an Indian song service with our members, which we have to do more frequently now since we have no interpreter. This also trains the Indians to sing and helps them to learn Indian verses.

17th. Br. Luckenbach and Br. Kluge helped Br. and Sr. Jacob stack their hay. Because they have no skill at all for work of this kind, they need our assistance quite frequently. They know this, too, and are very grateful.

19th. In the evening Br. Kluge gave a short Indian address. On such an occasion we feel greatly our inability to speak in Indian, which causes us to sigh to the Saviour that He should come to our assistance in this respect, also.

20th. Two Indian women came into our village and scattered all sorts of lies among our members. They said that the white people had come to take possession of the Indians' land; that they would hang all of the chiefs, and that all this would take place within two years; that all the Indians who would not take flight and remain at this river would be killed, etc. When our Indian brethren told us these things we admonished them to be sure and not to believe such apparent lies, because they were aware how often such lies were circulated among the Indians in order to put the credulous minds of the heathen in a state of continual unrest and fear. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

21st. Br. Luckenbach finished a pair of cart wheels which he made this week. To his and the astonishment of all they turned out as well as if a wagoner had fashioned them; at least they will afford us the same service, we hope. We are very glad that we got a cart in this way without the least expense. It will be ever so much easier now to bring in our corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and other fruits of the field. Other years this has been hard work.

22d. In the morning we prayed our morning litany in Indian with our members. In the afternoon the three Delaware chiefs, Tettapachsit, Pakantschihilas, and Hockingpomska, came and with them a large number of others consisting of Indian men and women. The former came at once into Br. and Sr. Kluge's house and were very friendly; they called us their brothers. We greeted them in like manner, assured them of our love and gave them coffee to drink, which was, as it seemed, very welcome, for they were hungry. On this occasion we greeted them in the name of all our dear brethren in Bethlehem and assured them of these brethren's interest and prayers to God for them and their earnest wish that the Indians might be converted to God so that it might be well with them. This reminded them of their visit in Lititz and they said: "We have not yet forgotten what we saw there. The people there are indeed good white people; they are not like others," etc. After an hour's call they journeyed onward. They were on their way to Post Vincennes where Governor Harrison had asked them to come for a consultation. Among these Indians there was also John Thomas with his wife and children, who came here with us from Goshen about three years ago. Last fall they left here with the assurance that they would go straight to Goshen, and here we find them among a lot of heathen Indians, which plainly shows that what they said was mere pretext. Catherina visited us and made all sorts of excuses for not having gone to Goshen. When we showed her that all her excuses were unfounded, since we could see with our own eyes that they loved heathenism better than the Saviour and the congregation, she began to lay all the blame on her husband, and complained how terribly he was addicted to drink and all sorts of other heathen vices, and would not leave them. She, however, had no rest in her heart and would be only too glad to come to us even if her husband would refuse to do so, if we would be willing to receive her. We reminded her of the grace which she had for many years enjoyed from the Saviour in the congregation; what her heart had thereby experienced; that she and her family had already in Holy Baptism promised the dear Saviour to remain true to Him for their whole lifetime; "and now," we said, "we see to our sorrow that you throw everything aside and live like the heathen; this hurts us very much. If you or any other member of your family is willing to turn about and yield to the Saviour, then you are welcome to return." Whereupon she once more assured us that she really desired to return. Time will tell if she is really in earnest. Catherina also asked Sr. Kluge whether she still thought of her; that she had often thought she had undoubtedly rejected her because she had dealt so wickedly. Sr. Kluge told her: "I have not rejected you but you have rejected the Saviour. I have often prayed for you to the Saviour that He should change your heart so that you might see how pitiful your condition is." This seemed to make a good impression on her, for she said: "Yes, I am very badly off."

24th. In accordance with her promise, the Catherina mentioned above, together with her 3 children, came back and said that she desired to live with us again. Because we were afraid that she was playing the hypocrite and would again commence her wicked life after having been here for awhile, in which event we would have a great deal of trouble with her son who is a regular scoundrel, we called her into our presence and that of our Br. and Sr. Jacob and reminded her of her son's conduct, and told her that such a fellow could not live here because he loves and seeks only that which is evil. She seemed to realize the situation and promised to get rid of him. We will be glad if she keeps her word and is obedient.

26th. and on the following days our Indian Christians were busy with the drying of blackberries to store them for the winter, when they will bake them in corn bread, which is something very agreeable to their taste.

29th. Br. Kluge preached on the question which the dear Saviour put to Peter: "Dost thou love me?" In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted a song service.

31st. The Indian Br. and Sr. Jacob went to Woapicamikunk to get and bring here the two grandchildren of the old Indian Sr. Abigail, who passed away last spring.

August 1. We heard that an Indian woman had brought a large quantity of whisky to a place 4 miles from here, and that a large number of Indians had soon gathered there. We lovingly yet earnestly warned our people that none of them should go to the drinking place of the heathen. To our sorrow we had to see that 3 of the Cherokees who moved here some time ago went anyway in spite of our warning. This was on the 2d.

4th. They returned home and looked as if they had been sick. This showed us all too plainly what we had to expect of our Cherokees, because they failed to keep their promise at the first opportunity. We reprimanded the head of this family and reminded him of his promise. We told him that if he and his young people could not or would not stay away from the carousal of the heathen, they would not be allowed to live here; that he knew that we did not allow such actions in our village; and that only such Indians were permitted here who were anxious to get away from such sinful practices. The old wife then said that she had told the young people, but that they had not listened to her. She said that the young people would not be willing to leave here unless the parents would likewise move away. The event will show what they really intend to do, whether they will stay away from the sinful practices of the heathen or whether they will move away. We have to be on our guard, for as soon as the heathen find out that bad people live here, then more and more of that kind will come. This would have evil results.

5th. Br. Luckenbach preached a short Indian sermon.

In the evening we had a song service and a few words on the text for the day.

6th. After having wandered about among the heathen for a time, Joshua came and earnestly begged for permission to live with us again. He said: "Do with me what you will, only let me once more live among the Brethren, for I have no peace among the heathen." Though this fellow has given us a great deal of trouble and has hurt the Saviour's cause and his soul greatly, we could not drive him away from us, so we gave him permission to remain here on trial, with the reminder, however, that he would have to leave without fail as soon as we noticed the least sign of his former sinful conduct. He was very happy that he was allowed to remain and promised, by the grace of God, to change his life, to give himself anew to the Saviour, and to be faithful to Him. We sincerely hope that this may prove to be the case, in which event we will not be sorry to have been patient with him and to have received him again.

7th. Our old Br. Jacob was taken with a severe attack of fever, which to our deep regret weakened the old man so that he could hardly walk. At his request we gave him an emetic, which took effect, too, so that he soon was rid of the fever and wholly recovered.

9th. In the evening Br. Kluge gave a short Indian talk.

10th. We spoke with our communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. We were able to rejoice over their state of heart for which we thanked the Saviour heartily. For the present we have 4 communicants. One still has to be omitted. This discourages us very much, because the prospects for growth are not bright. At the same time we are only thankful if these few are a joy to the Saviour, because here in the land of the heathen they are exposed to many temptations to sin. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

12th. Br. Luckenbach read a speech to our members on the words: "For God so loved the world," etc., John 3:16, which we had translated into Indian with the help of our interpreter. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted a song service in which our old Br. Jacob was introduced to our members as helper, with the request that they should in love respect him. At the same time Joshua felt himself moved to address himself publicly to the members. He begged their forgiveness for his sinful conduct and that he had brought them so much disgrace. He wept while he spoke. This seemed to make a good impression on those present and they forgave him gladly and freely, with the wish that he and they might from now on live for the Saviour alone.

13th. In the evening we joined ourselves in spirit with our dear congregations and to the comfort of our hearts and the strengthening of our faith, we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. The dear Saviour was very near unto us and permitted us to enjoy His peace here in our loneliness and distant removal from the congregations.

14th. In the evening we had a thanksgiving liturgy.

15th. Br. Luckenbach read to the members an address translated into Indian.

16th. A letter from Br. Van Vleck rejoiced our hearts. In the afternoon an Indian woman came and begged Br. Kluge to bleed her. This happens quite frequently and we never deny them either. We do not charge them anything for it. The evening meeting had to be omitted because most of the members were sick with fever. Br. Luckenbach has also had several attacks of fever the last few days. We are very much afraid that this year, like every year since our coming here, will be a regular fever year.

17th. We sang a Passion liturgy.

18th. Levi, an Indian baptized by the Brethren in olden times, and a number of half-drunken Indians passed through our village with 4 barrels of whisky. This was very unpleasant for us on account of the terrible noise.

We tried to make the best of it and fortunately they soon moved on with their stuff, so that we were not disturbed any further.

19th. Br. Kluge preached on Matt. 11:28. A number of heathen women were present. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted a song service.

21st. A number of heathen came here and desired to see the picture of the Saviour on the cross. We showed it to them and related to them all that the Saviour had suffered for us and commended to them the great love of the Saviour. After they had seen and heard everything they left again, telling the other Indians that it would be better if we would take a large skin and paint thereon everything that we told them of God, as for instance, how Heaven and Hell looked, then too all the sins of mankind, and what punishment would follow upon every sin, and how everyone would fare after this life. All this should be painted on a skin, then the Indians could see everything for themselves and would be much more deeply impressed than if they merely heard these things. They said that an Indian had once had a vision and had then pictured everything on a skin, and that many Indians had seen and believed that it was the truth. An Indian brother told them, "What you say concerning painting things is nothing. What our teachers tell us they have not received in a dream or vision but from God Himself. He has revealed it all in His Word how we may be saved, and we have experienced that it is the truth. Only believe on His Word, then you will find that it will do more than all men and the wonderful tales of the Indians."

This evening we read an Indian translation of an address. There was present a heathen Indian who has already killed two Indians.

22d. There were a number of Indians here again. Their object was to beg, especially cucumbers, watermelons, and muskmelons. This has been an especially good year for these things, so we gave them some. This summer the weather has been unusually fruitful, which has caused the fruits mentioned to grow larger than we have ever seen since our coming to this place.

We weighed a number of watermelons and muskmelons and found that they weighed from 10-14 pounds a piece. At the same time the taste is good. This whole month has been exceptionally hot. Having a great deal of outside work, we usually had to change our clothes a number of times a day, because we were wet clear through with perspiration. It is no hotter in Surinam than it has been here these last days.

23d. This evening after dark Br. Kluge went into our garden right near the house, when all of a sudden two large wolves that had hidden themselves behind the beans sprang out. Br. Kluge immediately called to Br. Luckenbach to bring the gun, and, it being moonlight, we could see them plainly. We tried to shoot them but our gun was in such poor condition that it refused to go off, and finally the two wolves jumped over the garden fence. The Indian dogs ran after them but could not catch them. It is terrible, the number of wolves we have here. They are not a bit afraid. Though there are many dogs in our village, the wolves come whenever they want to, and even play with the dogs. For this reason one has to shut up the cattle tight. The wolves have taken nearly all of Br. Jacob's chickens, since they have nothing else to eat. We have seen them run off with chickens. Before that we never wanted to believe the Indians when they told us.

24th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy with our members.

26th. Br. Luckenbach read an Indian translation of an address. A heathen Indian attended the meeting. In the evening no meeting could be held on account of a heavy rain.

27th. In the evening Br. Kluge delivered an Indian address. Two heathen were present. After the sermon the one (a white man who had been carried away from his parents during a war and had been brought up by the Indians) came to us to learn, as he said, the true will of God so that he might know how to live. This was very agreeable to us, and we told him with a great deal of pleasure and with warm hearts of the love of the Saviour for mankind, and how we through faith might receive the forgiveness of sins and thus become children of God. All this we sought to make very clear to him and Br. Luckenbach repeated it once more as interpreter. He appeared to be very happy over it, thanked us for what he had heard, and promised to come soon again to hear still more.

29th. We earnestly remembered the festival of the dear brethren in the congregations. Br. Luckenbach united in spirit with his dear choir and we wished him and all single brethren on this day many rich blessings out of the fullness of Jesus.

30th. Br. Luckenbach read an address translated into Indian in the meeting.

31st. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

September 1. In the afternoon Sr. Kluge had an attack of fever for the third time. By the 2d her temperature was so high that we were worried, for this is no ordinary fever. It is a double fever. Every time she has an attack there are few chills but a great deal of heat. As is the case every year, this is the season when there is a great deal of sickness. Nearly all of our people are sick, some more, some less.

At the time for the sermon today a translated address was read. In the evening no service could be held on account of sickness.

3d. We harvested our tobacco. The crop is good this year.

4th. We heard that a white man on his way to Fort Wayne had drowned while crossing a creek. He had been appointed by the Government as blacksmith for Woapicamikunk where he was to erect a blacksmith shop.

5th. To our sorrow we again saw that the Cherokees living here were entirely too much inclined to heathenish things. All of them went to a heathen dance, which for the time robs us of all hope of their conversion. Upon their return we talked to the head of the family and his wife and expressed our regrets that they did not keep their promise to live in accordance with our rules. We told them if they were unwilling to obey the Word of God, and took part from here in all the sins of the heathen, they could not remain but would have to return to their kind; that here we could not allow anything like that; that our place was only for such as were anxious to get rid of the sins of the heathen and desired to yield themselves to God. They listened in silence and could think of no other excuse than that they had been invited by the heathen.

6th. We spoke with our two married couples in preparation for the approaching Married Peoples' Festival. Their simple-hearted testimony rejoiced our hearts.

7th. In spirit we united with the married peoples' choir in the congregations and observed this day. The Saviour was very near unto us. His word: "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them," was beautifully realized. In the evening meeting Joshua was readmitted into the congregation, which occasion was very impressive to our few members.

9th. Early in the morning the Delaware chiefs returned from Post Vincennes and passed through our place but did not stop long. They told us that they had renewed and confirmed their peace and friendship with the white people and that they had received presents in the form of articles of clothing.[7] Br. Luckenbach preached and 2 heathen women attended the service. In the evening no meeting could be held on account of heavy rain.

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[7] On August 18 and 27, 1804, Harrison concluded a treaty with the Delawares and Piankashaw by which the United States acquired the land in the southwestern part of the state as far north as the treaty line of 1803 and the road between Louisville and Vincennes. As compensation the Delawares were to receive an additional $300 for ten years which was to be used exclusively for the purpose of

15th. The weather had cleared and everybody began to harvest. We did the same.

16th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day, Luke 7:11 f. A number of heathen were present. The evening meeting was omitted because most of our members lay sick with fever. This fall is a regular season of sickness not only with us but also throughout the whole Indian land. One hears of complaints from all the Indian towns of a malignant fever from which many Indians die. Our few old members are quite weak. The worst of it is, there being so few of us, one cannot give the other the necessary attention because everybody is himself in need of care. We white people have no easy task before us. Sr. Kluge and her little son have been suffering from boils for some time, so that we sometimes do not know what to do.

17th. and in the following days Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach were busy harvesting corn.

19th. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

21st. We heard that Marcus,[8] the Indian boy who came here with his parents from Goshen but who lived among the heathen, had died in a heathen town. We were very sorry to hear this, especially so because we see that the unfaithful parents are leading all their children to destruction, one after the other dying among the heathen.

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ameliorating their condition and promoting their civilization. Suitable persons were to be employed "to teach them to make fences, cultivate the earth, and such of the domestic arts as are adapted to their situation." Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties,* 2:70-73; Dawson, *William Henry Harrison,* 56-58. The Delawares complained the following year that they had not understood they were ceding any land. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:117-18, 121-23, 130, 142-46; *post,* 329n.

[8] The son of John Thomas and Catherine.

23d. Br. Kluge preached on Luke 17:11 f. A young heathen was present.

24th. and following days we were still busy with the harvest. Having no outward help at all, we were all the more grateful to the dear Saviour that we two white brethren enjoyed such good health that we could look after necessary things.

26th. John Thomas, who had gone away from us last year with his family, came into our village, sad and sick. He visited Br. and Sr. Kluge. We made the most of this opportunity to remind him how graciously the Saviour had dealt with him in past years. We held before him the misfortune into which he had so recklessly plunged himself and that some day it might be too late, etc. He listened thoughtfully but expressed no penitence whatever, he rather sought to excuse himself. His object was no other than to beg some medicine, and so, with heavy hearts, we had to see him depart.

28th. We spoke individually with our communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion and their state of heart gave us joy.

30th. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. Last evening a communicant sister was very sick and would not have been able to come to the Holy Communion after which she greatly longed, so we had the service this evening to the blessing and comfort of our poor hearts, the dear Saviour being very near unto us.

Fourth Quarter

October 1. Instead of the usual evening meeting we had a thanksgiving liturgy.

2d. The little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge had a severe attack of fever. Some of our Indian Christians likewise suffered from a fresh attack.

4th. An Indian came here with his sick wife and said sadly, "My wife has been very sick for a long time. She has to vomit every day; nothing tastes good to her any-more; therefore, I came here to buy a pig from the believers so that she can eat her fill of pork, then she will get well, for she has a desire for it." We advised him first to give her an emetic; that would help her more than pork. However, he insisted and bought from our Indian brethren a pig, shot her at once, loaded it on his horse and rode away with his wife quite contentedly.

5th and 6th. Many heathen Indians rode through our place on their way to a sacrifice in Woapicamikunk. They were quite fixed up for the occasion. After the sacrifice was over, they took a barrel of whisky and drank so much that some of the heathen died from the effects of it. So pitifully these poor people come to their death at their supposed service of God.

7th. Br. Kluge preached on Mark 2:1 etc.

8th. Our Cherokees went hunting and returned home on the 11th bringing with them the meat from 7 deer which they had shot. They shared with every inhabitant of the place, so we had meat once more.

12th. We brought home the last fruits of the field: potatoes and cabbages. This finished this year's harvest and we were heartily glad. We returned childlike thanks to our dear Heavenly Father for the rich blessing which He gave us. In addition to a considerable amount of tobacco, our store for the winter consists of 70 bu. of corn, 20 bu. of potatoes, 4 wagonloads of pumpkins, and other garden vegetables.

13th. We were busy writing letters. Br. Luckenbach will go to Cincinnati one of these days partly to mail our letters, and partly to purchase a number of articles needed.

14th. Br. Luckenbach preached on the text for the day.

16th. Accompanied by the Indian Br. Jacob, Br. Luckenbach left here for Cincinnati with our best wishes for the Lord's gracious blessing.

17th. Indian Sr. Mary came to the house of Br. and Sr. Kluge to speak about her heart. She said, "Now I see more and more how poor and miserable I am. Recently I have not been content with myself. I was angry at this and angry at that. Then I came to the conclusion that this must be the reason why I was not at peace. But when I heard in the meeting yesterday how content and happy one is if one lives in communion with the dear Saviour, and has His peace in one's heart, I concluded that this not being the case with me must be the cause of my dryness and unhappiness. I feel it now and I cannot do anything but weep over my condition." She was comforted and lovingly pointed to the Saviour.

19th. In the evening meeting this sister wept very freely. After the service she came to Sr. Kluge and kissed her and said, "Now I weep for joy. I feel well at heart again. I feel that the Saviour forgave me my dryness and gave me His peace into my heart, so that I can once more love my brothers and sisters."

21st. Br. Kluge preached on II Cor. 5:14-15.

22d. Our Cherokees went hunting and returned the 25th. During this time they had killed 7 deer and one bear, but they brought back not much more than the skins; only a little meat. Most of the meat they threw away, because it was too much trouble to bring it home. We told them that in the future they should not throw away good meat, but should rather let us know, and we would bring it with our horse, since we and our old brethren are usually short of meat.

26th. An Indian brother related that a Delaware chief had told him that Governor Harrison in Post Vincennes had inquired of the chiefs concerning us and had told them, "Congress does not know that teachers are living among you; these people are there on their own accord," etc. We told the Indian brother, "Do not believe it. These are merely the words of the chiefs. The Governor and Congress know full well that we are here, for we informed them long ago. They are glad if many heathen are converted."

27th. Old Chief Pakantschihilas sent greetings to us through his son and the words, "Have pity on me, for I have no tobacco." We let him have 2 lbs. of tobacco and greeted him in return. He is said to have been very happy over it all.

28th. Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Ezek. 4:32 and dwelt especially on love to the Saviour and for one another.

29th. Br. and Sr. Kluge with their children went to the woods for crab apples. As they were about to return home, they all of a sudden saw a large wolf standing right near them in the path. He never moved although we yelled at him and threw sticks at him. At last he went away quietly for which we were heartily grateful to the dear Saviour, because we had no weapon and at the same time had the children with us. It is astonishing how bold the wolves are in this neighborhood and how large a number there are here. In the evening, as soon as it is dark, these beasts set up their howling near our place. They make a terrible noise and nothing is safe from them.

November 2. We had the pleasure of welcoming our dear Br. Luckenbach back from his journey to Cincinnati. We had looked for him several days with anxious thoughts. His long absence troubled us because we feared that he must have met with some misfortune on his journey. We were not wrong either. Indian Br. Jacob, who had gone with him, lost his horse in Cincinnati. They searched for it everywhere, but it could not be found. This not only caused the delay but also unpleasantness. Br. Luckenbach had an advertisement printed in Cincinnati and had it put up in public houses in the neighborhood. Mr. Ziegler and other good friends promised to make inquiry everywhere. We are very anxious that old Br. Jacob shall get the horse again, because it does not belong to him. To our great joy Br. Luckenbach brought with him letters from dear Br. Loskiel, as well as letters and the minutes of the General Missionary

Conference conducted by Br. Heckewelder in Gnadenhütten. All these were found at the home of Mr. Ziegler, who has ever proved himself a good friend and shown his interest in us, for which we owe him a debt of gratitude and which we try to pay, too, on every occasion.

4th. Br. Luckenbach preached on Rom. 5:8-9. This afternoon we saw to our sorrow that the Cherokee family, which is here since last spring, had no desire at all to regulate themselves in accordance with our rules nor to let go of their heathenism and be obedient to the Word of God. They had a sacrifice after the manner of heathen on the other side of the river, so that they might be successful on the chase this winter. We expressed our displeasure over it, but they paid little attention to it and excused themselves by saying that they had not held the sacrifice in our village. We were only too happy that none of our baptized Indians had taken part in these unpleasant things, which for the time we could not alter.

6th. They all went off hunting and we were glad to be rid of these disobedient people, at least for a while. Joshua also went to the woods for several days to make raccoon traps.

7th. On this and following days we white brethren were busy putting our turnips and other garden vegetables into the cellar.

11th. In the absence of an interpreter, Br. Kluge read an Indian translation of an address instead of having the usual sermon. He admonished our members to think faithfully of the Saviour, how much it cost Him that we are saved, etc.

12th. and following days we white people were busy with household duties and the writing of letters.

13th. Joshua came home. He had been lost in the woods and was unable to find his camp, for which reason he decided he would come straight home because he had no more to eat.

In a special manner we united in spirit with the dear congregations today. We silently prayed to our dear

Saviour and Elder of His Church that He should bless us also in our loneliness here so that we might have a share in the blessing that rejoices the dear congregations on this day; that He should comfort us with His presence now and graciously watch over us in the future.

15th. We spoke individually with our members and we had reason to rejoice over all most heartily, especially over those who had given us many anxious thoughts recently. They confessed themselves very sinful and showed that they longed for the grace of the Saviour. We could heartily thank the Saviour and His Spirit for His untiring faithfulness and forbearance with which He follows our Indian Christians. Of this their testimony gave clear proof.

16th. In the evening we had a mission conference at which an Indian brother was readmitted to the Holy Communion.

18th. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. Being unable to have Holy Communion yesterday for some reason, we had it this evening to the comfort of our poor hearts. The Saviour was very near unto us and in a happy manner He gave us His peace.

19th. Instead of the regular evening meeting we had a thanksgiving liturgy.

21st. Old Br. Jacob came to Br. Kluge and said that Chief Pakantschihilas had entrusted him with the following message to us, "Brothers, do not remember any longer that I forbade my grandchildren to attend your school and to hear the great Word. When I forbade them I may have been drunk and I am sorry that I said anything. I think otherwise now. My whole desire now is that my grandchildren and any others who so desire may attend your school and learn to read and to write. Perhaps I may live long enough to see the time when my grandchildren can write. In that event how happy I shall be."

We sent him a message saying that his words were very pleasant to us; that we were willing to forget what he had said, and would gladly strive to teach his grandchildren and others who desired it; especially did we desire that he himself might get a desire for the Word of God and open his heart to God, so that he might realize how necessary it was that he and all Indians should be converted to God and learn to know Him who from love became man and for our sins had suffered and died, to deliver us out of the power of Satan and to reconcile us to God; that anyone who had the grace to realize this fully would then enjoy the great mercy of believing on God and belonging to Him; and he and all Indians would then thank God with all their heart that He had sent His Word among them in order to learn the way of salvation from it.

22d. In the evening Br. Kluge delivered an address on I John 3:1.

24th. Indian Br. Joshua went to Fort Hamilton to inquire after old Br. Jacob's horse, whether it had been found, and in that case to bring it home with him. We made the most of this opportunity and sent with him different letters to our dear brethren in Bethlehem to be mailed in Cincinnati.

25th. Having no interpreter, Br. Kluge read an Indian translation of an address on the words of the Saviour, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy-laden," etc.

27th. In the evening meeting an address was read. There were a number of Indian women present and they listened attentively.

29th. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted a song service, at the conclusion of which he urged the Indian members not to allow a day to pass without communion with the Saviour and to tell Him, with believing hearts, everything that they lacked, and he asked them to join us now in thanking the dear Saviour for His faithfulness, goodness, and the protection that He has shown us, and to commit ourselves to Him for the future. Thereupon

Br. Kluge knelt in fervent prayer to the dear Saviour. The members were very much impressed.

30th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

December 2. Br. Kluge preached the sermon in Indian, dwelling especially on the incarnation and suffering of the Saviour for us. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

5th. A fairly old Indian woman of the Monsey nation came here and asked to live with us, saying, "I was born in Sopus[9] and baptized in infancy in the English Church. In my younger days I was always among white people and learned to speak English and low German fluently.[10] As a child I went to school for a month, at which time as on other occasions during my stay among the white people, I frequently heard the Word of God and it pleased me greatly. I learned the Lord's Prayer and I can still repeat it. Since I have been among the Indians for a number of years I have always repeated the Lord's Prayer, morning and evening, and also recalled what I had heard of the Word of God. The Indians, however, would only laugh at me and mock me, even my close friends. Not being able to stand it any longer among such wild people, I have come to you to hear the Word of God once more in peace, without having anyone laugh at me," etc. Br. Kluge told her that if this was her wish, then here she would find the right place; that it would be a pleasure to us to tell her a great deal of the Word of God our Saviour, for this was the object of our being here. She rejoiced over this and said: "I feel as if I had come out of the darkness into the light."

7th. Indian Br. Joshua returned from Fort Hamilton and brought with him the horse which old Indian Br. Jacob had lost. He had found it in a remarkable manner.

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[9] Sopus, or Esopus, is now Kingston, New York. "Extracts from Zinzendorf's Diary," Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1(1858-1876):81n. Zinzendorf referred to Sopus as the Sodom of the government of New York. *Ibid.,* 83.

[10] In the shorter Diary the entry reads, "I learned the English but not the German language."

Joshua had inquired all over in Fort Hamilton, but could learn nothing of the horse. As he was on the way home and had camped in the woods for the first night, the horse which had been lost for four weeks came by itself to his camp. He was filled with astonishment and did not know what to think. He then caught it and brought it back with him. We all looked upon this as the providence of God that poor old Br. Jacob might again get his horse. We rejoiced with the old brother and also thanked the dear Saviour.

9th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day, Luke 21:25 ff. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

10th. Joshua told us that he had already—the summer before—asked the Monsy woman mentioned before, whose name is Peggy, to marry him, and that she had promised to do so, for which reason she had come here now; that he would like to have her because he had had no one in the house for so long a time and on account of being sickly could not help himself. When we asked her about it, she said that it was all true; that she was willing to marry him because she knew no one else would have him, but that she knew she would be able to get along with him, for she would like to live here. This woman herself being willing and they having already come to an agreement, we could not prevent it very well, especially since we have had our troubles already with Joshua on account of a wife, because he does not care to remain a widower. For this reason we were partly glad, and the marriage took place.

11th. and following days it snowed continually day and night. The snow lay one foot deep. This caused the Indian women in the Monsy town to fear greatly and to complain to one another with tears that "Manito" (God) was angry with them and might destroy them with the large quantity of snow. The Indians had an appearance in a dream that there would be more snow this winter than ever before, so that everything would be stuck in the snow and would be lost. This they complained about to an Indian sister who answered, "You are poor ignorant people; snow comes from God, for He sends the rain and the snow and also grants good weather; everything comes from Him. Anybody that believes on Him need not fear for He knows how to protect him, no matter how much snow there is."

14th. It became extraordinarily cold so that Joshua froze his feet while hunting. But he came home in time and used every means to thaw out the frozen parts. He succeeded, too. In our Indian houses, we white people suffered greatly from the cold.[11]

15th. An Indian captain named Amochk (Beaver) came here on a visit, saying that he desired to live here. When we asked him why he wanted to live here and what had moved him to think of it, he answered, "I drink too much whisky and that keeps me poor. I thought, therefore, if I would live among the believers, I would not see so much whisky, for if I see it, I have to drink it." We used this opportunity to tell him of Jesus' love for sinners and told him on what conditions one could live here, and because he was constantly referring to his being a captain, we told him that in the Church of God there was no need for the office of captain, for we were brethren; that no one was the other's captain for that was something for people of the world alone. In the eyes of God we were all alike; with Him no one had the advantage save he who believed on God and loved Him with all his heart and wanted to surrender himself to Him; such alone were well pleasing to God.

He listened attentively to it all and then said, "Now I shall consider the matter I have heard about, and after that I shall come again, when you will hear what conclusion I have arrived at."

16th. Br. Kluge preached on the day's gospel, Matt.

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[11] The shorter Diary reads, "We white people suffer much in our thin walled houses."

11:2-6. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

18th. Indian Sr. Catherina, who about a year ago left here with her husband to go to Goshen but who did not carry out her resolution, roaming about among the heathen instead of going to Goshen, came here with her grown-up daughter and her little one-month-old baby,[12] and begged permission to live here again. With tears in her eyes she complained that her husband had left her and married a heathen woman; that she had suffered a great deal since she left us, and that what was worst for her was the fact that she had had no peace of mind; that she always felt that all her troubles were but the punishment of God for her unfaithfulness. She assured us that she would remain all her life with the believers, if we would receive her again. We pointed her to the Saviour, that she should ask Him with all her heart for forgiveness for her unfaithfulness, for she had grieved Him most of all; that with Him alone she could find pardon for her sins. At her earnest entreaty, she received permission to live here, for which she was very grateful.

19th and 20th. It snowed again, day and night. On the whole this month has been extraordinarily cold so that we have to chop wood day and night. Though we kept a large log fire going in our houses, we hardly knew how to keep warm. It was especially hard on Br. and Sr. Kluge's children. They were often so cold that they cried; they did not want to remain at the fire, all the time. The second hard thing which we have to suffer again this winter is that we have no flour. Because of the severe cold and the deep snow no one could get through from Fort Hamilton with flour. We were compelled to make our daily bread consist of corn, which we had to crush daily, Indian fashion, in a log. This meal we mixed with pumpkin, so that it would not be so hard and dry. We heartily thanked the dear Saviour that all of us enjoyed health, otherwise it would have been hard for us.

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[12] The shorter Diary reads, ". . . her two-months-old child."

23d. Br. Kluge preached on Phil. 4:4. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

24th. Our members got ready for the Christmas celebration. All were busy crushing corn for the love feast. In the evening we began the Christmas Eve celebration by having a love feast in which we rejoiced over the incarnation of our God and Saviour, bringing Him our humble and heartfelt thanks for His incarnation and death as the only ground for our salvation. The Saviour was very near unto us. Though we are but a few here, we experienced His peace in this dark land also. At the love feast, Br. Luckenbach accompanied the singing on the violin. After that little Carl Fried. Kluge related the story of the birth of our Saviour, and repeated a number of suitable verses. Then the Indian children sang the verses, "I rejoice in Thee," etc, and "O, Christmas Eve and His Suffering," etc. After this song by the children, little candles which Sr. Kluge had made for the occasion, were distributed among them. They were very happy over it all. All this made a deep impression on the old Indian Christians and they wept for joy.

25th. Christmas Day. Br. Kluge preached on Luke 2, dwelling especially on the birth of our Lord and Saviour and what blessings for time and eternity have come to us poor ones on account of it, etc. Kneeling in prayer we heartily thanked the Saviour for His mercy, that for our sakes He became man and suffered and died that we might be reconciled with God.

26th. Br. Luckenbach conducted the evening meeting and spoke on the daily text.

27th. We spoke with our communicant members in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. We had the joy of finding that all was well with them, for which we sincerely thanked the dear Saviour.

29th. In the evening, to the comfort of our poor hearts, we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. The Saviour was very near unto us with his dear presence.

30th. Early in the morning we had a thanksgiving liturgy, after which Br. Luckenbach preached on Gal. 4:4. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the daily text.

31st. In the evening at half past eleven we gathered for the watch service. After the singing of a number of verses, Br. Kluge gave a short talk in which he reminded the members of the many gracious dealings of God our Saviour; how many proofs of His faithful care and assistance we had experienced this past year; and he urged them now, at the close of the year, to thank the dear Saviour most heartily for His goodness, and to ask Him for forgiveness of everything that we did to grieve His faithful heart, etc. Whereupon we had an enjoyable love feast. During this we related to our members the little that had occurred in our little congregation. At 12 o'clock Br. Luckenbach struck up on his clarinet the tune, "Now thank we all our God," etc. At this juncture we fell on our knees together with our Indian Christians and fervently thanked our dear Lord and Saviour for every proof of His love, faithfulness, and protection, and penitently begged Him for forgiveness of all with which we had grieved Him, and committed ourselves and post to His gracious guidance and protection, with the deep sigh of us His servants to our dear Saviour, that His gracious will for us and our post might be such that more might be accomplished this year than hitherto, and that we might have the joy of gathering for Him this year a reward for His sufferings among the heathen here, and in all this the dear Saviour graciously revealed Himself to us and comforted our poor hearts with His dear presence.

From the heathen there moved here this year two baptized women, Peggy and Catherina and her little child, therefore, 3 persons. At the close of the year the congregation consists of 3 baptized married couples and 1 adult woman named Catherina—7 persons. Among these are 4 communicants. Unbaptized there are a woman with six children and Catherina's little baby, altogether 8 persons. Total number of inhabitants: 15 persons, 2 more than at the close of last year.

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FOR THE YEAR 1805

FIRST QUARTER

JANUARY 1. New Year's Day. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Col. 1:12-14. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the service and spoke on the text for the day.

3d. We heard that one of the Cherokees who stayed in our midst this summer had died in their hunting hut in the woods, a miserable death as the result of a venereal disease. The mother of this Cherokee family, as frequently mentioned before, belongs to the Delaware nation, and is quite an old woman. For a number of years she has had to suffer a great deal from open sores and ulcers all over her body, but in spite of this, like her Cherokees, she is wholly given over to heathenism and all the sins of the heathen. Saddest of all, neither she nor her Cherokee family want to forsake the way of sin. During all the time of their stay among us, we have not noticed, on their part, the least desire for the Saviour and His Word. On the contrary, they were very troublesome to us because of their heathenish ways, and we saw very clearly that their long sojourn in our midst worked harm to the souls of some of our brethren. For this reason, we talked with our members and then told the old woman of the Cherokee family that it would be better if she and her Cherokees would move again to a heathen town, where they could live as they pleased, because we noticed that, for the time being, they had no intention of being converted to God and becoming obedient to the Word of God; that our rules would be grievous to them, because they showed no inclination to regulate themselves accordingly, even though they promised to do so; and that, in this way, we should only prove a burden to one another, etc. She hardly knew what to say in answer to this, but neither did she appear willing to move away.

After some days, however, her brother—a heathen—came. The Indian brethren Joshua and Jacob told him all about the conduct of his sister and her Cherokee family; also what we had told them, whereupon the heathen answered: "You have done rightly. I also want to talk to my sister about it." Hereupon he did speak with his sister, saying: "You moved to the believers and never told me anything about it. I concluded, therefore, that you knew as well as the rest of us, that anyone who desired to go to the believers had to forsake all his heathen customs and begin to live like them. I thought that my sister might have a real desire to abandon her old ways and also become a believer. Now, however, I see that this is not your intention, because you have brought with you your old habits of life and want to act among the believers as you did in the heathen town, offer sacrifices, drink, and dance. You are very ignorant. Our grandfather, it is true, offered sacrifices, but he had learned in a dream why he should do so. Nevertheless, before he died, he threw everything into the fire, and here you bring all of it out again, without knowing why you do it. Therefore, I say unto you, if you do not want to live like the believers, then do not hinder them either, but take your Cherokees and go again to a heathen town where you can live as you please," etc. Thereupon the old woman promised to obey him, over which we were very glad, because there are prospects of getting rid of them.

4th. The chiefs sent one of their servants to us with a contract, which they had made with Governor Harrison in regard to a tract of land, and which they wanted us to read for them, because, as they say, they do not believe anyone else as to what the contents are, for the traders always lie to them; but if they hear from us what the contract contains, they would believe it.[1] Br. Luckenbach therefore read the contract for them and the Indian Br. Joshua translated it into Delaware, whereupon the messenger took it home again, on the 5th.

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[1] This document was the treaty made at Vincennes in August, 1804. In April, Tetepachsit, Buckongahelas, and Hackinkpomska

Epiphany, the 6th. First of all morning prayers were held in commemoration of the festival, and Peggy was received into the congregation. At the usual time, Br. Kluge preached the sermon, at the close of which the little two-months-old daughter of the Indian Sr. Caterina was baptized into Jesus' death and received the name of Lea. In the afternoon we had a delightful love feast at which we reminded ourselves of all the mission stations in this country. After this service, the married brethren and sisters had a separate meeting, in which the Indian Br. Joshua with his wife Peggy received the blessing of the Lord upon their now existing Christian marriage. In all of these services of the day, we enjoyed the presence of our Lord and Saviour, which comforted us richly in the midst of the sorrow we feel because our post is still so unfruitful and our number is still so small.

8th. Three Twechtowis came into our village and stayed overnight with the Indian Sr. Theresia, whose relatives they are.

sent to Indian Agent Wells, at Fort Wayne, by William Patterson, a half-breed Delaware, a complaint that they had been tricked at the treaty. Their letter, dated White River, March 30, 1805, reads as follows: "We sent to you our nephew William Patterson to counsel with you, we wish that you will listen to what he says concerning of Governor Harrison's purchasing a large Tract of Land, we know nothing of it, we have not in our power to sell land and more than that it is contrary to the articles of the Treaty of Greenville therefore we send to you the writing the governor gave us, when he gave it to us, he told us that it was an instrument of writing to keep peace and friendship among us—therefore we wish that you will see into it and let the President our Father know that the purchase is unlegal and that he may take such measures as will prevent it from being settled...." Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:117. Patterson's speech to Wells, repeating the accusation at greater length, is printed in *ibid.*, 1:121-23. Both communications are witnessed by John Conner.

9th. Joshua and his wife went to an Indian town eight miles from us in order to get some corn, which they received as a gift from an Indian woman who lives there. They could not return home until the 11th, because of unusually cold weather.

13th. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon on Rom. 12:12. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

15th. Br. Joshua went raccoon hunting, because he heard of a neighborhood in the woods about ten miles from here where raccoons were plentiful. When he reached there, he found eight huntsmen ahead of him, so, after he had remained a number of days without catching anything, he returned home, benumbed with cold, on the 18th.

There are a great many deer near our place, but because our two old Indian brethren can no longer go hunting, they have to maintain themselves in scanty fashion at all times, and are, therefore, always very poor. In addition to this, they are infirm. Sr. Mary has been sick nearly the whole winter. All these things taken together cause us a great deal of trouble, because they always expect assistance from us in outward things.

20th. Br. Kluge preached on Matt. 7:21. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and read the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.

23d. Joshua and his wife went to another Indian town to purchase corn with the proceeds derived from a salve which they make for the healing of wounds.

24th. A large stag came into our cornfield, so that we could see him from our village. A young Indian, Samuel by name, ran there with his gun and was fortunate enough to kill him, which gave great joy to his mother, the Indian Sr. Catarina, because she had complained for a long time on account of a lack of meat. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

25th. In the evening we sang, as we usually do on a

Friday, a Passion liturgy. A heathen Indian was present at the meeting.

27th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel of St. Matt. 13:24-30. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

28th. We two brethren, Kluge and Luckenbach, went to our sugar camp to chop a supply of wood for the sugar making, because one does not find time for that when the sugar boiling is in progress. Today we also received the first hundred [pounds of] flour since fall, over which we are very happy. Up to this time we had to pound corn every day this winter and bake our daily bread from it. This is not only hard work for us, but also consumes a great deal of time. Although we must still continue with the pounding of the corn, since the hundred pounds of flour will not go far, we are glad, nevertheless, that we have some flour for use in the kitchen and for our children.

29th. A young Indian came for a visit in our settlement, and because he stayed a number of days, he attended the evening meetings and listened attentively.

31st. We heard that an Indian sister was in collusion with the frequently mentioned Cherokee family. We talked to her about the matter and admonished her not to have anything to do with these heathen people, because we knew beforehand that such intercourse would in the end prove injurious to her, whereupon she promised to be obedient to us, which was what we desired. The evening meetings were held as usual this week and our few Indian brethren and sisters made good use of them.

February 1. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy with our brethren and sisters.

3d. Br. Kluge preached the sermon at the usual time on St. Luke 8:4. In the evening we told Sr. Theresia some things about the Saviour in her own language as we frequently do, and in connection with which she always shows that it is gratifying to her to hear of the

Saviour, for the Word of God is very sweet to her so that she cannot hear enough of it.

4th. Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting which the visiting heathen attended.

6th. Br. Kluge conducted the meeting for communicants and talked especially about love to the Saviour and love for one another.

7th. In preparation for Holy Communion our communicant members were spoken to individually. This time we had the joy of seeing that they were especially conscious of their sinfulness, and judging from what they said, it is evident that the blessed work of the Holy Spirit of God is taking place in their hearts. On their own initiative they talked seriously with one another and in love mentioned freely, in our presence, all the misunderstandings which had arisen among them, and then they forgave each other, so that a true feeling of peace reigned. All confessed that they had peace of heart because they felt that they loved one another.—In the evening we sang an Indian translation of a Passion liturgy.

9th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in the Holy Communion, to the quickening of our hearts, whereby the Saviour was very near to us and permitted us to feel His peace.

10th. We first had the thanksgiving liturgy, after which Br. Luckenbach preached on I Cor. 13:1-3. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

Because our Indian brethren heard that the Delaware chiefs had, upon the advice of the Governor, received their annual gift from the Government for three years, so that good fences might be built under the supervision of the trader, Mr. Connor, of this community, who had been delegated for the purpose,[2] therefore, our two Indian brethren Joshua and Jacob went, on the 11th, to Chief Packantschihillas at Woapicamikunk in order to talk with him and to tell him that they were old and decrepit and consequently desired some rails for a fence around their cornfields.

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[2] In accordance with the Treaty of 1804 William Wells, as Indian agent, entered into a contract with John Conner and Peter Audrain to supply rails for the fields of the Indians. The former

13th. They returned again and related that the Chief had promised them a thousand rails for our settlement, over which they were very happy. They also related that the Chief had told them that an Indian woman, who had been baptized with the name of Beade in Friedenshütten, and who now lived near Woapicamikunk in Moncy Town, had had a vision. There had appeared unto her one evening while she was alone in front of her house, two men, whom she could not recognize, and whose voice alone she could hear. These told her: "Stand still, because we have something to tell you." And when she stood still, the two spoke unto her and said: "We came to tell you that God is not satisfied with you Indians, because at your sacrifices you do so many strange things with wampum and all sorts of all juggling, and also do not keep separate spoons with which to stir the sacrificial meal and to dip it out." Having said this, they threw down seven wooden spoons, and continued: "You Indians will have to live again as in olden times, and love one another sincerely. If you will not do this, a terrible storm will arise and break down all the trees in the woods, and all Indians shall lose their lives in it. As a sign that our words are true, a child will be born that shall speak in the very beginning, and tell you everything, exactly how you shall live." According to the woman, the two spirits disagreed in regard to the latter point, and disputed with each other. As said, the one desired that a child should tell them everything, but the other one said: "No! They will not believe the child. An old Indian who lived in former times shall arise and

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supplied the rails for the White River Indians while the latter supplied them for the Indians near Fort Wayne. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:148. See also the Diary for March 7, 1805.

he shall tell them." Thereupon the first spirit answered: "No! That shall not happen, for if one who died in olden times shall arise, the Indians of the present time will not know him, and they will not believe him. Therefore, a recently departed captain by the name of Schaponque shall come to life again; this one all the Indians know, and he shall tell them," etc. This foolish fable and gossip of the woman meets with the utmost approval of the chiefs, for which reason they had all the Indians come together these last days, in order to make it known to them, and to admonish them by all means to do everything that the woman said. And now everyone expects the captain mentioned to rise from the dead.

15th. Our old Indian Br. Jacob came back from an Indian town ten miles from here, where he had gone to have his gun repaired. On the way back he had to wade through a creek, so that the water came up to his knees. Because he was wet through and through on his legs, and because it happened that it was on a cold windy day, his legs became numb to such an extent that he fell down one time after the other, and finally could not get any further. He therefore tried to build a fire for the purpose of warming himself, but on account of the stiffness of his hands, he could not hold the tinderbox. Thereupon, after many fruitless attempts to build a fire, he crawled to a tree, and there lay down with the trustful expectation that the Saviour would provide him succor. His trust was not put to shame, for not long after he saw, to his great astonishment, his grandchild (an adult Indian, who is still a heathen) coming toward him. This man was astonished over the pitiful condition of his grandfather, and immediately built him a large fire at which he could warm himself, then hastened to our village to announce the painful circumstance. Before anyone could go to meet Jacob we saw him come by himself, and we joined him in thanking the Saviour for His gracious protection and assistance to this old brother. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy. The evening meetings were held after the usual manner this week.

16th. The son of one of our Indian sisters came back again from Moncy Town. His mother had sent him there to fetch her two grandchildren (such according to the manner of Indian relationship) whom an Indian woman named Sophia, who had been baptized in olden times, had with her. The deceased mother of these children, some time before her end, committed them to the care of our Indian sister. The woman who had these children told him, however: "I do not want to have these children who are relatives of mine become believers, because the believers will all be lost, and after this life they have to cross over a dangerous way. They must pass over two logs, which are constantly rolling toward each other, and most of them will fall between the logs and will be killed. And should one actually get across safely, if he gets hungry, he must eat cow manure." From this one can see with astonishment how the old baptized souls have become heathen again; yes, there is no trace to be found in them that they were ever believers.

17th. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time on the text Luke 18:35. In the afternoon a large number of heathen passed through our settlement on their way to the meeting in Woapicamikunk to hear about the vision. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day. Since the weather was very mild, we cut into some trees on the 13th, but we obtained very little sugar water, because the trees, it would seem, have not yet thawed out properly. Nevertheless, we gathered what little there was and procured three pounds of good sugar. We made the remark on that occasion that two good water pailfuls of sap made two pounds of sugar.

21st. and the following days it rained almost day and night, whereby our sugar making was frustrated, for the time being. Never since our being here have we made sugar as late as this year.

22d. The Indian Sr. Mary has been sick almost the whole winter, very weak, so that she could not move without assistance, and two Indian sisters changed off in waiting upon her. Br. Kluge visited her, as he does every day, and found her to his joy wholly reconciled to the will of the Saviour and satisfied with whatever He would do with her. Br. Kluge comforted her in her physical pains, which she has very badly, especially in her abdomen and in her spine, and admonished her that she should always hold fast in faith to the Saviour, and that she should look to Him very often and remember how He, our Saviour, allowed Himself to bleed to death on the cross.

24th. Br. Kluge preached on Matt. 7:21. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

26th. We have good weather for sugar making, wherefore we and our Indian brethren and sisters hastened to the sugar camp in order to cut all the sugar trees.

27th. The sap of the maple trees flowed fast, so that we obtained sixty pailfuls of sugar water. The 28th, however, we got very little sap, because the weather changed again. This gave us excellent opportunity to boil in our two kettles the sap which had been gathered.

March 1. It began to rain again and as a result the sugar making had to stop entirely. We have made 36 pounds of good sugar.

3d. Br. Kluge preached on the text, Titus 2:14. Several heathen attended the service. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

4th. A large number of heathen, who had attended the sacrificial feast and the new appearance, of which mention was made in the preceding month, in Woapicamikunk, returned and passed through our village. One saw with astonishment that no weather or way was too unfavorable to keep the poor, blind heathen away from their abominations and customs, for they came on foot, men and women in one stream, and with heavy burdens on their backs, in the midst of a pouring rain, and not one showed signs of a feeling that all this might be a hardship in spite of the fact that their journey was about twenty miles in length. On the other hand, the shortest way is too burdensome or not worth the effort to hear the saving Word of God. We often notice with sorrowful hearts that even the visiting heathen seldom attend the services.

5th. We heard that the heathen, in connection with the sacrificial feast which they attended from near and far, practiced all their abominations and customs again. The day before they had a great spree, which was preparatory to the sacrifice, and afterwards it came to an end after nightly revelries and dancing. According to their statement, this was directly the opposite of what they wanted to do, for in connection with the new appearance, in which they declared Manitto or their God had told them how they should live, among other things, they were expressly told not to have any jugglery and dancing, but only sacrifices and prayers.

Because this was not done, some of the heathen were not at all satisfied, and they told some of our people that they would not go so far any more, upon invitation of the chiefs, because they had hoped to see something new and things were just as they always had been. Nevertheless the chiefs had said: "Although nothing came of our intention this time, let us not forget what Manitto told us and do what we can; perhaps we can fulfill it another time."

It is pitiful to see what great pains these poor, blind heathen take to be well pleasing to God, and still they do not care to know anything of a Saviour, who has made atonement for the sins of mankind by His blood, and despise wholly the saving gospel. They wantonly reject it and absolutely refuse to accept the grace of God which is offered them, therefore they will always remain in darkness and never learn what a Redeemer is.

6th. We boiled the molasses which we made the previous week to sugar and got 64 pounds of nice sugar.

Since it began to rain again, the sugar making was once more interrupted.

7th. Mr. Connor's workmen came to us today in order to split the rails which the chiefs had promised our brethren. These people related to us that they had already made 14,000 rails in the Indian towns lying between us and Woapicamikunk. With these the cornfields of the Indians, according to the will and contract of the Government, shall be enclosed with good fences under the supervision of Mr. Connor, who undertook the work. After the enclosures have been made, the work shall be inspected by a commission appointed for the purpose, and then Mr. Connor is to receive payment for his labors.

8th. It began to rain terribly again. This was accompanied by the heaviest thunderstorm we have had since we are here. This terrible downpour accompanied by heavy thunder and lightning continued incessantly, day and night.

9th. In the evening all the land along the river was already under water, and during the night between the 9th and 10th there was such a flood as we had never before seen here, and even the oldest inhabitants along this river could not remember anything like it. Our cornfields, which lie higher than the fields of the other Indians, were covered with eight feet of water. Our fence, which had been made with such great trouble the previous year, was torn away by the terrible water, and in addition to it also a large portion of the new rails which had been made for our brethren. On this occasion we were very glad that our village is located on high land. Many heathen towns, besides their fields, were flooded so that the Indians had to flee from their houses. This was the fate of the Indians in the town four miles from us, there being between 3 and 4 feet of water in their houses. In the afternoon it stopped raining, and we thanked God, our Saviour, that none of our people had suffered further loss in the great flood than that in the cornfields. This loss of our fences is bad enough for us, because we have no people for such work, meanwhile, with the help of God, we will do what we can to get a good fence around our cornfields in time so that we can plant without fear.

Br. Luckenbach preached on Luke 11:28. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

11th. It began to freeze and the water subsided perceptibly.

12th. The water is once more within its banks, which is always the case with this river, the water rising with extraordinary rapidity but subsiding again as quickly. And now we heard one sad report after the other in regard to the damages done by the flood. The four Indian towns above here not only lost all their old fences around the cornfields, but the large number of new rails mentioned above were driven away, so that there is no fence around their cornfields anywhere.

Our fences having been torn away, we two brethren Kluge and Luckenbach made an examination in a canoe, and discovered near our fields on the waterside in the thickets, and in the woods adjoining our fields, quite a number of our rails, which may be about half of them; still we lost a large number entirely.

14th. Ten Indians passed through our village again on their way to Woapicamikunk, whither they had been called to hear about another vision. This vision appeared to a woman again and consisted of the following: "A man of enormous stature appeared unto her and told the woman: 'You Indians heard recently how you should live and sacrifice, and you came together for that purpose, too, but you after all offered your sacrifices according to your old customs, and did not observe that which had been told you. Now I want to tell you who I am: I am the Devil who speaks with you. I too was present at the sacrifice, and I confused you, so that you could not think properly. Because you always do according to my will, it will go badly with you, unless you turn about at once and do even as the two first spirits told you,' " etc.

This babbling of the old woman made the chiefs active at once. They immediately sent messengers to all Indians for the purpose of inviting them in the most solemn manner to the new lie, with the resolution to spend many days and nights in sacrificing this time. Never, in all the time that we are here, have the Indians been in such a state of revolution as they are at present. Time will tell what the result of this unrest among the Indians will be. For the present they do not want to hear anything at all except what they learn through the extravagant visions.

Br. Luckenbach told an Indian woman in a heathen town, who related to him this vision in a very sad manner, that all their appearances were the deception of the Devil, but if they would hear and accept the Word of God which we proclaim, that God in love for us poor people had become man, and had allowed Himself to be tortured for the sins of mankind, and had died on the cross, so that all who would believe in Him might receive the forgiveness of their sins and eternal life,—then all the Indians would soon learn that this is the right way to God, whereupon the woman, in the most indifferent way, said: "So!"

16th. A large number of heathen women passed through our village on their way to the sacrificial feast repeated at Woapicamikunk.

17th. Br. Kluge preached on Luke 12:8-9 and in the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

18th and 19th. We boiled the molasses made the week before into sugar and got 54 pounds of sugar. Since the weather is pretty warm every day, so that the trees begin to bud, which has not been the case as early as this since we are here, the sugar making comes to an end, because the sap of the sugar trees is no longer good.

20th. We heard that smallpox had broken out in Fort Hamilton and on the Miami, and according to the statement of Indians who came from there, many of the white people are dying as a result. This report creates not a little fear among the Indians in this community, for which reason the chiefs have given strict orders that no Indian must go there. This puts us in a bad position, because it cuts off all communication with the white people and our correspondence with our dear brethren is wholly stopped.

22d. We had frost again during the night, so that the sugar sap was freshened up again and began to flow. We and our Indian brethren and sisters made use of this last sugar sap and boiled molasses, which was the end of the sugar making, in that it began to rain again. During the time when the sap of the sugar trees flowed and was still good, we made for our share 154 pounds of very nice sugar, and 5 gallons of molasses, for which we thank our dear Father in Heaven most heartily.—Our usual evening meetings were held this week in regular order.

24th. Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Luke 23:34, and in the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

25th. A sad circumstance arose near our village. Since sugar-making time, a heathen woman, with her two children, has been staying in the woods a mile and a half on the other side of the river, for the purpose of making sugar. She frequently came from there to our meetings. In the morning of the day named the two children had a fight, for which the mother of these children struck the larger one of the two, who was a little boy of five years old, stripped him of his clothes and chased him away, with the words: "You shall never again see your sister." This poor child actually left the sugar camp, and presumably wanted to come all alone to our place. Because he had to come across the river, it is supposed that he wanted to wade through the water, and drowned. The mother of this child thought he was lingering somewhere near the sugar camp and would return again, and consequently forgot all about him. Not until toward evening did it occur to her to look where her chased-off boy was hid, and when she could not find him, she was terribly frightened and came running into our village, and inquired for her child. But no one knowing anything about him, she came into Br. and Sr. Kluge's house, related the incident in regard to her children, wept and wailed, and constantly cried: "My child is surely dead!" Our brethren immediately hastened away with her to look for the child. After a quarter of an hour, they returned and carried the dead child into our village. They had found it lying at a large stone in the river near our village. The mother of the child was quite beside herself, shrieked and loudly wailed: "O my child! I never thought that you would go to the river and drown."

26th. Our brethren quietly buried this child at the side of our graveyard. Br. Kluge made use of this opportunity to speak to the mother in regard to the condition of her heart, told her of the love of the Saviour for sinners, as something from which to get comfort under all circumstances, if sought, and begged her under these sorrowful circumstances to think of herself, how she would fare if she had to leave the world, because she did not yet know the Saviour who for poor sinful mankind and also for her sins had bled to death on the wood of the cross, etc.

She listened quietly and gave attention but she never answered a word. This incident seemed also to make a deep impression on our brethren and sisters. Some of them wept and said: "Oh, if we would only remain ever near the Saviour! None of us knows when the end of life comes. The Saviour may call us out of this world before we know it."

28th. Joshua and his wife left in a canoe for an Indian town fifteen miles from here to get corn, and returned again on the 30th. We, and Sr. Kluge especially, had to suffer a great deal this month from colds in the head, sore throat and coughs, from which Sr. Kluge is still not quite free.

31st. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. In the afternoon we visited our sick Sr. Mary. At her request we sang some verses for her, and Br. Kluge made a short address for her, because she cannot go to the service. She wept freely and said: "I now feel so well at heart that I can do nothing but weep, which is not at all according to my nature. I also feel a stronger desire for the Word of God than usual. It is always a comfort to me when you visit me and tell me about the Saviour." We comforted her with the thought of the Saviour's suffering for us poor souls, and begged her to yield herself wholly to the will of the Saviour, in which case He would surely do with her as would be for her greatest good.

In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day, to which a heathen, who was present, gave close attention.—Herewith, we greet our dear brethren and sisters in the congregation and commend ourselves and our post to their prayers and remembrance before the Lord and Saviour.

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

SECOND QUARTER

April 1. On this and the following days we white brethren were busy making rails for a fence around our cornfield. Br. Joshua was engaged in similar work for his field. Unfortunately, each year since we are in this place, we have [had] to build a fence around their field for our old Br. and Sr. Jacob, partly because they are old and sickly, partly because they are careless about looking out for themselves. We have had a great deal of trouble with this old family already, as far as outward things are concerned. In spite of that, they half incline to heathen customs of which they have never yet been quite rid. This shows itself at each opportunity. They have too many heathen friends. It would be better for such people who are not better grounded in the faith to live in an Indian congregation where there were none but believers around them. In that case, they would not be tempted by their heathen relatives. They cannot resist the slightest temptation of the heathen to the detriment of themselves and of the Saviour's cause.

3d. Chief Tedpachsit's wife came here and stayed overnight. In the evening she visited Br. and Sr. Kluge's house and related a great deal about the visions of the Indians. She said, "I cannot believe what the Indians say, neither do I find any peace for my heart in the Indian teaching and sacrifices, for I see that in connection with their praying and sacrificing they are doing evil as before and never become any better. For this reason I have often wished I could move to the believers and hear the Word of God, for all my friends are believers and even my mother died among them. I have often spoken to my husband about it, but he does not want to become a believer." Br. Kluge told her that all that the heathen teachers told them was not true. "They bring you with their teaching ever deeper into degradation and keep you away from God. For this reason they are instruments of the Devil, for he is the father of lies. If you believe them, you will always remain poor lost souls and slaves of sin. But those who turn to the Saviour of the world, whom we proclaim, who from love for poor mankind had allowed Himself to be tortured and who bled to death for the sins of all mankind, and who on the third day rose again from the dead and ascended into Heaven, and now has proclaimed to all men grace and forgiveness of sins through faith in Him, whosoever believes with all his heart on Him and yields himself to Him shall have deliverance from sin and eternal life." She listened attentively to all this and at last began to cry, saying, "Yes, I believe that what you say is true."

4th. Br. Luckenbach talked with an old Indian woman, a relative of Indian Sr. Mary, in our place. She said to him, "What you say of God is only for white people. I know full well that God created three men in the beginning: first, the negro; then the Indian; and last of all the white man. To each he gave His particular mode of life and the method of worshiping Him, therefore, the Indians have to keep to their mode of life and customs," etc. Br. Luckenbach showed her the groundlessness of her opinion and related to her what the will of God for men was, but she insisted that the visions of the Indians were of God, and that all that the Indian teachers taught was the truth.

5th. An Indian family came here and stayed overnight in our place. The head of this family told Joshua, "I do not know what to think; the Indians are coming together continually to sacrifice in accordance with the directions of the Indian woman teacher, so as to enjoy long life. I also attended one of these gatherings recently but found nothing in them; it is always the same old thing, but still they claim that they have found something new. I will watch it all but as soon as I see that they continue to remain the same old people, I will remove to the believers." Joshua told him that the poor heathen were in the same position at present as a blacksmith would be without a hammer.

7th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day, St. Matt. 21. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and made a beginning with the reading of the Acts of Passion Week. We prayed earnestly to our dear Lord and Saviour that He should graciously bless to us poor souls the history of His suffering and death, so that we might in the reading of it have a deep impression on our hearts as the ground of our salvation both in time and eternity.

8th. In the evening the reading of the Passion history was continued.

9th. Today we spoke individually not only with our communicants but with those also who cannot go to the Holy Communion. To our great sorrow we learned that sick Indian Sr. Mary who has been suffering from consumption for some time, together with her husband, old Br. Jacob, had quite fallen into unbelief toward the Saviour. They would not listen to the least admonition or advice and said, "All that you say might comfort a believer but not us any longer, for we do not believe; therefore let us alone." The sick woman said, "The Word of God does not heal my body and that is what I want. My heathen friends told me to come to them, they would make me well. I know that the heathen can tell if a sick person can get well or not. I now want to go to them and have them make me well," etc.

How painful this talk was to us one may readily imagine, especially so since we have visited her daily ever since her sickness, comforting, admonishing, and pointing her to the dear Saviour, as the only Helper of those in need. In the beginning she seemed to be reconciled to the will of the Saviour, but unfortunately it did not last very long. When her heathen friends, of whom she has a great many in this community, visited her, they told her all sorts of things about her old heathenism and the superstition of sorcery; that a heathen sorcerer could make her well again, if she would consent to see one; and she allowed herself to be persuaded. She then lost all her faith in the Saviour and the lust after heathenism became stronger and stronger in her, so that she did not want to hear any more of the Saviour and all our faithful representations were in vain. She insisted on having herself taken to Chief Pakantschihilas, who is her uncle, because he had invited her to come and said that he would chase us off if we would not let her go. In this sad circumstance there was nothing for us to do but to commend her to God. The other communicants of whom there are only a few, were also sorry according to their testimony. With them we had foot washing on the 10th in the evening. The Saviour graciously revealed Himself and let us feel His peace, comforting our hearts.

11th. We had a reading service and in the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion, to the comfort of our sad hearts. The Saviour was very near unto us.

12th. Early in the morning we had the thanksgiving liturgy, after which we had a reading in three parts. At the close of the last lesson on the history of the suffering of our Saviour, we knelt in prayer and fervently thanked Him, our Lord and Saviour, for His terrible suffering and death; also for the blessings enjoyed in the reading of the comforting history, fervently beseeching Him to keep us close by His wounded side until we see Him.

13th. In the afternoon we and our few brethren had a small love feast. Two adult heathen with their children were present as guests.

Easter Day, the 14th. Early in the morning we and our members went out to our little God's Acre and there prayed the Easter morning litany. At the usual hour, Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the lesson taken from the harmony of the four Gospels, page 130. In the evening Br. Luckenbach read a part of the history of the resurrection of our Saviour.

15th. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and read in this meeting the remaining part of the history of the resurrection.

16th. A number of Indians passed through our village on their way to the sacrifice in Woapicamikunk. There all heathen gather for the sacrifice to the corn, that it may grow well.

18th. The Indian family mentioned under date of the 5th came here. Being evening, they remained overnight in our place and attended the evening meeting as attentive listeners.

19th. Early in the morning the head of this family, accompanied by Indian Br. Joshua, came to Br. Kluge and said, "I believe that everything that you teach here is the truth about God, therefore, I concluded if I could find peace of heart and forgiveness of sins with God I would like to live among the believers and reject all that the Indians teach, having practiced that for many years now but having found no peace in all these things." Br. Kluge told him of Jesus' love for sinners, showed him the way to the Saviour, through whom alone one may have forgiveness of our sins, and peace for heart and conscience, begging him, if this was his desire, not to hesitate long but to give heed to the voice of the Spirit of God in his heart; and to come, just as he was, to the Saviour in faith, and then he would find that the Saviour would in no wise cast out a sinner, etc. He then left quite contentedly and promised to come soon again. This poor man has talked like this for two years, but, being a great doctor among the heathen, he has been unable to give up heathenism because of outward gain. Time will tell if he is really in earnest or whether he will let it be nothing more than talk again.

21st. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, St. John 20:19. In the afternoon a number of heathen came to our village again, and, being toward evening, they encamped near our village and in the evening attended the meeting which Br. Kluge conducted. He spoke on the text for the day.

22d. These heathen left for the sacrifice in Woapicamikunk. Br. Joshua and his wife left in a canoe for the Indian town 12 miles down the river, for the purpose of getting the corn which they had stored there. They returned home on the 23d. Last week and yesterday we two brethren were engaged in building a fence around our cornfield. Since we are here flour has not been as rare as it is now. Ever since last winter we have had to crush corn with which to bake bread, and now our corn is all gone, too, and it is still impossible to procure flour. From what we hear flour is $5 a hundred in Fort Hamilton. The terribly high water ruined nearly all of the mills. In Fort Wayne, from which place we also get flour at times, flour is said to be $15 the hundred. This is the reason why nobody brings flour into the Indian land. If the traders' profit is added to the extraordinarily high price, no one can afford to buy. On the whole living expenses for white people are great in this community. Everything one buys is so extraordinarily expensive.

25th. To our great sorrow we learned that Sr. Catherina, who has been with us since last winter when she was very sad and very greatly distressed over her former evil ways, but promised never again to leave the congregation for the heathen, had, according to her custom, deceived us, playing the hypocrite. She had told us that she would go after corn and in three days would return home. Instead she went to the heathen festival in Woapicamikunk and attended it in common with the heathen. It is clearly to be seen that this person is still in the depth of heathenism, though she does not want to admit it. For this reason she tries to accomplish her end through deceit and hypocrisy. This is the third time that this hypocrite came to us and went back again to the heathen. Naturally the baptized among the heathen work a great deal of harm because their evil ways are a stumbling block and an offense. The heathen have told us already that they would have accepted the Word of God if the baptized had been different people; then they would have thought, "It is really true; one can see that they are better than we, and they live up to their profession. But here we see the believers who have heard the Word of God for many years, come to us and act even worse than we, for they say all manner of evil about one another." Such things we have had to hear frequently from the heathen, and worst of all, what they say is true. For this reason we have often wished we had not brought any baptized Indians along, but had come here alone in the name of God.

26th. We were engaged in writing letters to our dear brethren.

28th. Br Kluge preached on the gospel for the day, John 10:12, and dwelt particularly on the great love and shepherd's care of the Saviour toward His own,—Br.

Luckenbach rode to Woapicamikunk on business to see a trader there by the name of Mr. Connor. He witnessed the heathen festival on this occasion.[3] The heathen have had a great excitement for some time; they are acting in accordance with an appearance recently given them. Br. Luckenbach related the following about it. "Late in the evening the Indians were called together by the loud cry of two servants appointed for the purpose. Upon this signal those of the Indians present gathered in their large house newly built for the sacrifice. Here two fires were built. Along the sides the servants had thrown straw on which the congregated Indian men and women seated themselves or if it pleased them, stretched themselves full length. One after the other—with a loud voice—began to relate his dream, only a few words at a time, which those Indians present then repeated with a loud voice while he rattled a turtle shell in which there were a few small stones. This song they sang while dancing about, the leader making all sorts of gestures and jumping up and down, which those following him then imitated as best they could. In the middle of the house they had erected a post on which there was cut, on both sides, a human face painted Indian fashion. Whenever a dream was related in full, they gathered about this post, stretched out their hands toward it, and sang a song which they closed with a howl wherewith, as they said, they thanked God that the dream had begun its fulfillment." Of these senseless things the foolish heathen speak with the greatest respect as if it were the greatest service one could render God. They claim that God had given them these dreams and wanted to be worshiped in this manner. They do not like it at all when one does not admit it or scoffs at it. When one watches these poor slaves of sin and of Satan one is astonished how man is by nature. The most insignificant circumstance is great and important, while the saving gospel of the Saviour's love which led Him to His death for us is an altogether indifferent matter to them and not worth hearing, while they satisfy themselves by saying that they, too, worship God and not the Devil. From this anyone may readily see that it is necessary first of all that the Saviour bring them a realization of their miserable condition: that they live without God in the world and that they are in that condition eternally lost. After that we can hope that they will no longer be indifferent to the sweet gospel as they are now. And that is our earnest petition to the Saviour, namely, that He should make these poor slaves of sin willing to hear His Word and consider it with fruitfulness.

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[3] Luckenbach gives a more detailed description of the festival in his Autobiography, *post*, 611-15. The dances and their symbolism are discussed by Speck in his *Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony.* See also Mark R. Harrington, *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape* (*Indian Notes and Monographs,* Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, 1921), 81 ff.

Br. Luckenbach also visited our apostate old Indian Jacob and Mary who are staying with their friend,[4] the Indian Chief Pakantschihiles. They are in a pitiful condition. Sick Mary told him frankly that she had been treated a number of times by the heathen sorcerer.[5] And she said this in a wholly indifferent manner, without showing the least penitence.

30th. The Indian Br. Joshua went to Woapicamikunk, principally to visit old Jacob and his sick wife and to learn at the same time if they intended to return here to plant. Hearing that there was no further danger from smallpox in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, we got ready on May 1 for a journey to that place, and May 2 our dear Br. Luckenbach began his journey on horseback. We wished him the gracious protection of our dear Saviour with all our heart. The object of his going is principally to take our letters and diaries there to mail them to our dear brethren; also to get any letters from the dear brethren which may be with Mr. Ziegler. We have yearned for them for a long time.

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[4] The shorter Diary reads "relative."

[5] The shorter Diary reads, "The sick woman told him that she had had herself buried several times."

May 3. Joshua returned from his visit to Woapicamikunk. He told us that he had left Jacob and his wife Mary in a sad state of heart, and that sick Mary even went so far as to call him bad names. She said, "You are also one of those who is always saying that the heathen worshiped the Devil." Chief Pakantschihilas was present when she said this and showed himself very unfriendly toward Joshua. When he saw that his well-intended visit was not appreciated, he left the same evening and slept in the woods. He said that he had been reminded of Peter as he followed the Saviour into the High Priest's palace, where a maid told him one time after another, "You too are a disciple of the Saviour." He thought, "the poor people did not know that it was a great favor to be called a follower of Jesus." He told us, too, that he had also talked with two Indians, telling them what the dear Saviour had suffered for us and how, through faith, we might be saved, whereupon the two Indians said that they would like to come to the believers to hear the Word of God. They promised to visit us soon with that object in mind.

5th. Br. Kluge preached on the gospel for the day, John 16:20, and in the evening meeting he spoke on the text for the day.

7th. The old mother of the Cherokee family frequently mentioned, came here and begged permission for them to live with us again. She said she realized that they had not acted in accordance with our regulations, but that they would do better and be obedient. They could not stay away from us because they liked it here very well; they enjoyed hearing the Word of God and believed that all that the heathen said and taught was nothing, for she could see with her own eyes that the heathen always remained the same and did not become any better.

We saw that we could not get rid of her and also noticed that they now realize that they were bad people who had not kept their promise, and, hoping that they might show themselves more sincere this time and let go of heathenism, we allowed them to come here to live on condition that in the future they would at least outwardly regulate their conduct according to our regulations. This pleased her very much and she promised faithfully to do as we required. God grant that they may live up to these promises and become a reward for Jesus' suffering.

8th. The 4 Cherokees, or as they call themselves "Cattowas,"[6] were busy getting logs ready for a house. They were anxious to have a house of their own, so they were all busy every day and by the 11th they were already finished with the laying of the logs, over which they were very happy.

The evening meetings were held each evening this week after the usual manner, and our Cherokee woman attended them without exception.

12th. Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, John 16:5, etc.

In the afternoon we had the pleasure of welcoming home our dear Br. Luckenbach from his journey to Cincinnati. We joined him in thanking the dear Saviour for His gracious protection on the journey to and from, and rejoiced over the many precious letters and textbooks from our dear brethren, which he brought with him. We also read with much pleasure and interest the monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference and thanked the dear Saviour, on our part, for His gracious revelation of Himself to His poor Brethren's Church in every place, and rejoiced with our brethren over His gracious selection.

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[6] The Cherokee were called "Kittuwa" (or "Kuttowauw") by the Delawares. Daniel G. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends . . .* (Philadelphia, 1885), 16-18; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* 1:246.

Br. Luckenbach related that the great flood last March had done great damage in Fort Hamilton and all along the Miami. Many plantations were thereby wholly destroyed, the water covering them thickly with sand and washing away fences and houses, some people losing their lives thereby. A mother and her daughter were rescued in a wonderful manner. The water rushed in on this woman's house from all sides so that they could not escape. In this anxious situation they momentarily awaited their death, when all of a sudden an empty canoe came floating to the side of the house. The woman and her daughter jumped into the canoe with hearts full of joy and in this way they saved their lives. Hardly had they entered the canoe, when they saw their house being washed away.

This evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting. He read a part of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. A number of heathen women were present.

13th. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the daily text.

14th. Toward evening 5 Indians came into our village, and on account of the lateness of the hour, they remained overnight. Very late in the evening they came to the house of Br. and Sr. Kluge. One of their number is a noted sorcerer among the Indians. He told us that he had been with the Indian woman, the teacher, who had recently had a vision, and he had heard her words; that she also forbade all evil, drinking, fornication, stealing, murder, and the like. She had also told him everything about himself, what he was and what he thought as he came to her, and that she had been right in everything she told him; that she knew everything that the Indians do and think even though she does not see it. He thought to himself: "This is strange! We hear that all evil is forbidden us and also believe that this woman received her words through an appearance of God; we sacrifice and worship for a long time in accordance with her words, and still I notice that the Indians continue to do what they are commanded not to do, and are unable to give up what she forbids," etc. This gave us opportunity to tell these Indians that human nature was altogether corrupt, and Br. Kluge told them what the Saviour had suffered in order to deliver us from sin and the power of Satan, and to bring us salvation; that by faith alone we could be saved; that as long as a man did not believe with all his heart and seek the forgiveness of sin with Him, he remained the slave of sin and was unable to help himself; he might do what he would, nothing would do any good. He listened to all this most attentively and in silence. Br. Kluge asked him if he would be glad to have us visit them in their towns, whereupon he answered, "I would be glad, for we would like to hear the whole Word of God." We promised them that we would visit them after planting was over, unless hindered.

15th. Early in the morning these Indians left, and when they were gone we heard that an Indian woman in their company had secretly brought whisky into our village. We were glad that they made no disturbance and that everything had passed off quietly.

16th. The Indian Br. Joshua and his wife went down the river 20 miles in a canoe for the purpose of collecting a debt owed him in corn.

17th and 18th. We were engaged in fence making. We were greatly hindered with this work because it rained almost every day this month. This is planting season so that we have plenty of work just now.

19th. No meetings could be held because there were only two of our members at home. This evening our apostate Jacob and his sick wife Mary at last returned from Woapicamikunk. But they did not come into the village. Instead, they went to their little hut in their cornfield. They did not announce their coming at all and not until the afternoon of the 20th did we learn of their arrival through the old Cherokee woman. She told us that the sick Mary was unconscious and took no notice of anything. At last old Jacob came and requested us to commend her to the dear Saviour, for she was at the point of death. We told him how greatly he and his wife Mary had sinned against the Saviour, having rejected the grace of the Saviour and refused to hear His Word, and we reminded him how they had declined to heed all our warnings and entreaties, telling us to our face that they no longer believed and no longer cared to hear anything about God; how they had gone to the heathen and acted like heathen in all things, having taken Mary to a sorcerer one time after another; that now, having seen that everything was in vain and they could not attain their end, now when the sick woman no longer takes notice of anything and was at the point of death, they had brought her to us; and what was worse, that even now we did not see the least sign of penitence on his part. To this he did not know what to say. He said that the heathen had told him he should have brought his wife to them sooner to be doctored, then she would have recovered. From this we judge that he does not regret his sin in the least and that he still believes the word of the heathen sooner than the Word of God. Not once did he acknowledge his wrong, but merely expressed his regret that they had not gone to the heathen sooner. It is indescribable how this grieved us.

21st. Mary, mentioned above, died in a pitiful state, in the presence of a large number of heathen female relatives whom the deceased woman's daughter and old Jacob had called together. Jacob and other near relatives came to us and begged us to bury the deceased according to our custom, saying that they wanted to give the dead over to us entirely, because she had always been a believer according to her light; that there were no men in her town to make the coffin and to dig the grave. We were sorry for this poor person and consented to give her decent burial and promised to come to their assistance at once, for none of our people were at home either.

The grave was dug, the coffin fashioned, and the shroud made, with such assistance as we could get.

When everything was finished and the body of the dead was about to be buried, the heathen women began their antics after the custom of the heathen. When we told them that they were doing wrong and not living up to their promises in giving way to their heathen practices on our God's Acre, and that they had promised to behave decently and to let us bury the body alone, they became wrathful and abusive, saying that no one had invited us white teachers and we had better go where we came from; that the land was theirs and that they would bury her how and where they pleased. We could do nothing else but go home with sad hearts and let the heathen carry on, on our God's Acre. Old Jacob pained us most, for he acted like a heathen in our presence and joined the heathen in all their antics. This greatly grieving circumstance we shall never forget. We are here like sheep among wolves and have no one save the Saviour to comfort us. It almost seems as if the heathen were bent on making it especially hard for us, so that we would leave here. They have told us as much more than once, but we pray the more to our dear Saviour that He should graciously give us that spirit which enables one to pray for one's enemies, for this is necessary here: the poor people know not what they do.

Ascension Day, the 23d. Our interpreter, Br. Joshua, and his wife being away from home, we could have no public service. Instead we gave Indian Sr. Theresa private instruction and read for her the history of the ascension of our Lord and Saviour. This gave her much joy. We white people rendered special thanks for the great suffering and death and resurrection and ascension, and sang a suitable liturgy. The dear Lord and Saviour revealed Himself to us and greatly rejoiced our poor hearts and comforted us richly above measure.

24th. We heard that old Chief Pakantschihiles, of whom the Indians thought a great deal, had died.[7] This poor man was ever an enemy of the Word of God, and sought as much as possible to keep the Indians away from us. He regarded heathenism more highly than all else and practiced it with great enthusiasm. He continually urged the Indians never to forsake their ancient customs but to live as did their fathers before them. He was the one who wanted to cure Indian Sr. Mary by means of sorcery. But recently he made the remark that he was sure that he would get to heaven because he had a house and wife there, consequently he had no need to listen to the white teachers. The death of this man has brought about a veritable revolution among the heathen, because, Indian fashion, they do not believe that he died a natural death. Suspicion rests on the surviving Chief, Tedpachsit, that he brought about the death. This poor Chief is therefore in danger of his life.

We talked with our two communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. We had reason to rejoice over their state of heart, for which we thanked our dear Saviour.

26th. Br. Luckenbach preached on the gospel for the day, John 15:26. In the evening we enjoyed the body and the blood of our Lord and Saviour to the comfort of our poor hearts. The Saviour was very near unto us and gave us His peace.

27th. On this and following days we and the Indian members were busy planting corn. This kept us employed until the 30th. We were glad that we could finish planting this month, for we have had rain almost every day, which hindered us with the planting and made us later with it this year than ever before. Without exception all the meetings of the week were held. Individual visiting heathen or such as passed through here attended them.

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[7] It is probable that the missionaries learned of Buckongahelas' death within a few days of its occurrence, for visitors at the Mission town on their way to or from Wapicomekoke were frequent. See Diary entries of May 3 and following days. Dawson (*William Henry Harrison*, 82) and Dunn (*True Indian Stories*, 60) believed that Buckongahelas died in 1804. Esarey (*Messages and Letters*, 1:142n) confuses him with an Indian who signed treaties as late as 1829.

June 1. This evening an Indian from Goshen by the name of Kaschati came here quite unexpectedly. We were very glad to see him, because we thought at first that he might have letters for us from our dear brethren in Goshen. To our regret we soon learned that he had left there without the knowledge of the dear brethren, in order to follow his runaway wife who had arrived some days before among her friends in Woapicamikunk. We did not have much to do with him. He remained in our village overnight and early on the morning of the 2d he hurried off to the Nanticokes who live 20 miles down the river. Br. Kluge preached at the usual time on the gospel for the day, John 14:23. At the beginning of the service we knelt in prayer and begged our dear Lord and Saviour for forgiveness where we had not always been obedient to the voice of His Spirit and had grieved Him, and prayed that He should graciously strive with us in the future, to remain with us now and ever, so that all we did might redound to His honor and glory, etc. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

3d. We began weeding our corn, which gives us a great deal of work this year on account of the frequent rains.

7th and 8th. We heard of one death after the other. During this time a great many heathen became ill suddenly and died a few days later. Six died in rapid succession. Among them was a woman who showed herself especially unfriendly at the time of Mary's funeral. As death is ever something terrible to the Indians some of them said, "It is strange how things go. Last year we had two sacrifices and prayed for long life and but two people died. This year we are sacrificing all the time and all the more of our number die." One frequently hears such talk among them. But as soon as we try to tell them of the Saviour as the only help for body and soul and that one can be saved only through faith in His death and suffering, they at once begin to talk of other things and lay the blame of the deaths among them on sorceries. At least they pretend to believe this. And thus they live in constant fear of one another. Some say, "If I become a believer and move to you, I shall soon lose my life through sorcery." They cannot get rid of this fear. The main reason, however, is that they have no desire or inclination to forsake heathenism.

9th. Br. Luckenbach preached on the gospel for the day, John 3:1 etc. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

10th and 11th. We were engaged in digging the garden and on the following days Sr. Kluge planted it with cabbage and other kinds of garden vegetables.

12th. We heard that General Gibson of Post Vincennes had arrived in Woapicamikunk to invite the Delaware chiefs, in the name of the Governor, to a treaty in Fort Wayne in order to come to certain agreements there. According to the way we heard the report, the land sold to the Governor by the Delawares last year was to be the principal subject to be talked about.[8]

13th. An Indian and his family came here for a visit. He remained 3 days during which time he attended the meetings faithfully and appeared to be quite attentive. We talked with him several times and commended to him the love of Jesus for sinners, and he seemed to enjoy it every time. Once he said that he had had a desire more than once to move to us to hear the Word of God; that he was very poor in this world's goods, but even if he had many possessions it would not help him anything for he would have to leave them all behind when he died; but that his friends did not think as he did, for which reason he had never yet been able to decide to move to us, because he was an Indian doctor and found his living among the Indians.

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[8] Harrison, disturbed by the unrest among the Delawares, Miami, Eel Rivers, and Potawatomi arising from the 1804 treaty, had dispatched John Gibson, the Secretary of the Territory, and Francis Vigo into the Indian country to quiet the misrepresentations circulating among the Indians and to discover who was exciting their jealousy and discontent. Their report to the Governor and the Minutes of the Council held at Fort Wayne on June 21 are printed in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:137-39, 141-47.

16th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Luke 16:19 etc. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

17th. Br. Joshua complained that the field mice and chipmunks had destroyed his planted corn. He had fenced in an acre in the woods thinking to do better there than on the plain; at least his fence, as he said, would not be washed away. We strongly urged him not to think of planting in the woods, pointing out the danger of losing all his corn and working only to feed the creatures in the woods, for there are a great many in this community. But he would not listen. Now, however, to his loss, he had to learn that our advice was good and had to get a field ready for himself on the land used for planting purposes so as to get some corn at least. The Indians frequently get themselves into trouble in this way, because they do not know how to help themselves.

18th. On this and following days we white people were busy in our cornfield. Having no assistance whatever we have to do all the work ourselves; consequently, we have enough to do all summer in looking after all the necessary things.

19th. We heard that a bilious fever was raging in the heathen towns and that many died of it in a few days. We thanked the dear Lord and Saviour that He had so far graciously protected us and kept all of us in good health although we are surrounded on all sides with heathen towns and almost daily strange Indians pass through our village. Most of the Indians blame this epidemic on the poison and sorcery of many bad Indians. They believe that these seek to put them to death. For this reason the Schawanos are conducting a rigid investigation to find out who the Indians are who are making them sick and bringing about their death. They have already killed two Wyandottes who were alleged to be guilty of mixing poison. The minds of the heathen in this community are filled with all sorts of things, but they do not care to hear anything about the Word of God, which makes us very sad and grieves us exceedingly.

20th. A sick Indian and his wife came through our village and when he was but a few rods from our place he could not go any farther, dismounted therefore from his horse and lay down by the wayside, whereupon he began to vomit terribly. Toward evening his wife brought him, with a great deal of effort, to a heathen doctor in the Indian town 4 miles away. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy. The meetings this week have been conducted without interruption in their usual order.

23d. Br. Luckenbach preached a sermon on Luke 14:16 f. and in the afternoon Joshua came to Br. Kluge and said, "I no longer like to remain among the Indians because no one will be converted anyway for they are more obstinate people than I have ever seen before. They will hear of nothing but their heathenism, for this is more important to them than anything else and at the same time they try to mislead the people whom we have brought along and draw them away from us. They do nothing but blaspheme us and would like best of all to torment us until we go away. Because I know how weak I am, I am afraid that if we stay here any longer, I shall be drawn away from the Saviour. Therefore I think it would be better if we could all go away to another Indian congregation where we have none but brethren and sisters about us," etc.

We comforted him as best we could and begged him to hold very fast to the Saviour among these wild people, for He would help us in one way or another and comfort us in all the sorrow which we endure. Furthermore, our few remaining baptized Christians frequently wish to go away from here, and we can hardly blame them, for they are like sheep among wolves and have no more encouragement from their own people than we have.

Br. Kluge conducted the service, using the text of the day.

25th. An Indian came with his wife into Br. Kluge's house and when he saw the picture of the Saviour on the cross, he asked what this meant. Br. Kluge then told him the story of the Saviour's suffering and death for us in order that we, through faith in Him, might be eternally saved. Hereupon the Indian answered, "Yes, I know who killed Him. The white people were the ones who did it, and the Indians are not to blame," etc.

26th. and following days. We cultivated our corn, which still looks very small and poorly and as yet promises no harvest for us because we have not had any rain this month and our plantation is very sandy, necessitating a great deal of rain, for whereas in a wet season everything grows well, things seem to burn up because the earth is like hot ashes. In addition, we are having hotter weather than we can recall since our coming to this place.

29th. We completed the work in our cornfield and rejoiced that this was finished, for in the present heat it is very difficult to work in the field. The meetings were held every evening during this week, but unfortunately there was always a lack of visitors.

Those who really belong to us are only three in number, and the heathen, when they visit here, rarely if ever come to the services, because they do not want to hear the gospel. Even our old Jacob and his family who still live with us, no longer come, because, as they say, the Chief Pakantshihiles, before his death, forbade them to go. This command they diligently obey because it suits them quite well.

30th. Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Luke 15:1 etc. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

THIRD QUARTER

July 2. We began to make hay for our cattle for the coming winter. The unusual heat still continues so that the work has been very hard. One cannot get any help here for love nor money.

3d. Our patience was tried as never before. It seemed as if the Great Enemy together with all his forces had come upon us with united power. Just as we were about to sit down to dinner a swarm of Indians, half drunk and partly naked, with faces painted black and armed with all sorts of instruments of murder, came into our village like wild beasts, and yelled loudly that they had come to shoot our hogs. They then entered the house of Br. and Sr. Kluge and repeated their threat in the most brutal language. We tried our best to calm them in a friendly way, but when we noticed that they were but seeking a pretext to maltreat us in case we should refuse and they could then carry out their evil intentions, we would not give them the satisfaction of raising objections, but kept still, letting them rage. Meanwhile we sighed to the Saviour and commended ourselves to His powerful protection.

When these raging heathen saw that no one resisted them they shot our best hog before our eyes, and with a wild yell they dragged it away. Later we heard that they had threatened to come soon again and repeat what they did. The most painful part of it all in this sad occurrence was the fact that we had to see that our worst enemies lived here in our village. These helped the raging heathen in every way they could to carry out their evil intentions. This was the return for our bearing with patience with these disagreeable people of whom we long desired to be rid, but which could not be brought about.

We showed them much love and had done them many a good turn.[9]

We learned afterwards that one of our Indians who should have opposed the offense of the heathen, had been bribed not to interfere. The unfaithful Indian brother actually yielded and would not let himself be seen during the disturbance of the savages. This gave them a free hand to do as they pleased. After several days we complained to the Chief from whose town these wild Indians came, that he should forbid his people to commit such disorders in our place in the future, whereupon he answered, that he did not like it at all that his people did such bad things and that he would speak to them about the matter, but if they would not obey him and should again make a disturbance and do us damage, we should not think that it was with his consent. From this we judge that the Chief himself is powerless to protect us against these bad Indians, because they have dismissed their oldest and greatest Chief and threatened him with death, and listen to no one, everybody doing as it pleases him. One can readily imagine how hard it is to live among such people.

4th. We spoke with our two communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion.

5th. This evening the Cherokees who live here came home drunk and made such a nuisance that Sr. Kluge took her children and fled with them to the woods so as to be out of the way of the spectacle, of which the children are very much afraid.[10]

6th. The heathen brought near our place in a canoe an Indian who had been stabbed through the chest. Their object was to take the dangerously wounded Indian 12 miles up the river to his family. Being very weak, however, they unloaded him here and laid him in the shade of the green bushes and hastened to bring his friends to him. Before all of them could get here he died in a pitiful manner. As long as he lived a sorcerer attended him constantly. This fellow made a great deal of fuss over the poor wounded man until he died. When his deception became apparent he said that he had looked into the heart of the wounded Indian and had found that he had been pierced through the heart, for which reason he could not help him further.

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[9] The daughter of Indian Sister Mary and the Cherokee family are referred to here. See letter of July 3, 1805, *post*, 537.

[10] The shorter Diary reads: "The Cherokees living here came home drunk tonight and made such a dreadful noise that we were forced to go out into the woods to escape it."

7th. At the usual time Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Luke 6:36. Since conditions were such last evening that it was impossible to have Holy Communion, we enjoyed it this evening to the comfort of our poor hearts. The dear Saviour graciously revealed Himself to us and granted us His peace. We covenanted together, in reliance on the help of our Lord and Saviour in every trouble from within and without, to persevere faithfully until He Himself should show us a way.

8th. We finished making hay, over which we were glad because the unusual heat still continues.

10th. At last the friends of the murdered Indian who died near our place, as mentioned above, arrived here. We were then surrounded with heathen within and without. They behaved decently, however, to our astonishment, but while they were here they were constantly begging food. Hardly were some gone when others would come and complain that they were hungry. We gave them as much as we could in order to get rid of them in peace, but even then we could not satisfy all of them. It is terrible what a famine each summer brings with it among these heathen. This is due to their laziness, for they plant as little corn as possible and most of them plant nothing at all. In winter they are in the woods and live on meat, and in summer they come home and bring with them a large quantity of whisky. This is their nourishment. The result is that they almost take away one's bread by force when hunger becomes too great. For this reason we were very glad when they had buried their dead in the woods and had gone away again. This is the case with the visiting Indians, of whom a number pass through our village nearly every day. They do not care to hear anything about the Word of God. Their only desire is food, and when they do not always get that as they want it, they are angry; although they well know that everything is unusually expensive here, still they want everything for nothing.

12th. The uncle of the murdered man, the father of a numerous family, came to us and said, "I wanted to come here in spring but I was afraid of the chiefs, because I know that they do not like to see it when anyone moves to you, and because I belong to their council and always have to be present. For this reason I was afraid if I came to you they would put me to death by means of sorcery as they have done in the case of many who opposed them. All Indians are afraid of that. But now I want to tell you how I feel. For a long time I have had no rest and cannot rest content with the way I live. I have diligently done all the things which the Indians practice; have also sacrificed a great deal so that I might live a long time with my young people. But in all these things I find no comfort and no rest, because I see that I ever remain the same and that the young people who belong to my family become worse all the time; I lose one after the other, like the one who was stabbed through the drinking of whisky, and whom I just now buried. I therefore thought, as I have often done before, if my young people are lost, I myself am to blame, because they looked up to me. This causes me to fear and fills me with unrest, lest I, together with my friends, will be lost, perhaps, if I continue the way I did and live as I have lived these years. I often recall what my mother once told me while I was still with her. My mother was baptized and passed away in Lichtenau. She said, 'My son, if you are not converted and believe on the Saviour and remain with the believers, you will be lost, for I have learned that nothing in the world can help us save the Saviour. Those who turn to Him are saved; all else will bring you nought but misfortune.' I now realize that what my mother told me is the truth, therefore, advise me what to do." We told him of Jesus' love for sinners, related to him all the loving Saviour had done for us, proclaimed to him the glad tidings of salvation through the sacrifice of Jesus alone and deliverance from all the sins of the world through grace. He showed that these words were very welcome to him and that it lightened the burden of his heart. He promised to move here soon so that he might hear the Word of God often.

14th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Luke 12:13. The Indian mentioned above was present, together with all his people, and listened attentively. During their stay here they attended all the meetings. In the afternoon they left for their old dwelling place and promised to come again next Sunday. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

16th. To our great joy we had a good rain once more after a five weeks' drought. This refreshed everything that had withered.

18th. Today we heard again, as we do almost every day, the most terrible threatening of the heathen: namely, if we would not leave soon they would see to it that we should go; that we should take the Word of God to the white people; that the Indians did not care to hear it; that they had not invited us to come. Such and similar threats we hear almost every day. For this reason we may expect daily that the aroused heathen will do us hurt. That their words are no mere idle threats we know all too well. At present the Indians are leaving their towns and moving nearer to us, and this they do for no other reason than to be the better able to annoy us. In the midst of these sad circumstances, we can do nothing daily and hourly but to commend ourselves to the protection of our dear Saviour, until we at last see the day of our release from this people who willfully reject the grace of God. We greatly long to see that day.

20th. A number of Indians passed through our village. They were on their way to Post Vincennes whither they had been called for a conference with the Government.[11]

21st. At the usual time Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon and in the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

23d. Ex-Chief Tedpachsit and his family came here on a visit. They stayed three days and attended the meetings with interest. He complained bitterly that his people out of hatred and because of all sorts of lies, had rejected him and would no longer listen to him; yes, that he really was in danger of his life.[12] He said further, "Therefore I am thinking of separating myself entirely from the bad Indians. I realize more and more that what the Indians practice among themselves does not amount to anything. They become worse rather than better. For this reason I will leave everything and come to you. But here where you are I cannot live with you; you are in a bad place, surrounded by nothing but bad Indians. It is useless for you to remain any longer. Not an Indian will be converted, for they hate the Word of God, and are bound that you should not preach the Word of God on this river to the Indians. While my Br. Pakantschihiles still lived and I was Chief, we kept the bad Indians from doing you injury and left you in peace, but now you see for yourselves how things are. No one pays any attention to me, everybody does as he pleases, therefore I advise you to remain here no longer. If you stay much longer, the bad Indians will do a great deal of harm. I too want to leave here, the sooner the better," etc. Among other things we told him that we had seen this a long time, and that we had long ago reported matters to our brethren, nevertheless, we did not want to leave without having heard from them, save under the most dire circumstances. He insisted that this would take too long, and that we might expect a great deal of trouble. We would not permit ourselves to be quite frightened and to become hopeless, although we were convinced of the truth of what he said. By the grace of God we possessed our souls in patience and told this old Chief of the love of our Lord and Saviour for us poor sinners; of the love that caused Him to die so that we might through faith enjoy the forgiveness of sins.

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[11] The invitation to attend a conference in Vincennes was extended by John Gibson at the council held at Fort Wayne in June, 1805. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:137-38.

[12] Tetepachsit did not make clear the basis of the resentment of the Indians toward him. It seems to have arisen from the sale of lands along the Ohio in 1804, which he and other chiefs later attempted to deny. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:141-46. The Prophet at this time was preaching the theory that the land belonged to all the Indian tribes in common, and that no tribe could dispose of land without the consent of the other tribes.

26th. The old Chief and his family took friendly leave of us and returned to their dwelling place. Though our daily portion is extremely discouraging, we pray all the harder to the dear Saviour for strength to bear the trials that will come upon us. We hold the meetings with our few baptized people as usual.

28th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Rom. 6:3-4. In the afternoon a number of heathen came here out of curiosity and desired that we should hold a meeting for them. We did so, with the heartfelt prayer to the dear Saviour that on this occasion these wild people might experience the power of His blood; that they might seek His favor and become ashamed of their reckless mockery. After the service they quietly went away. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and read the sixth chapter of St. Paul to the Romans.

29th. We had another severe trial of our patience. The frequently mentioned Cherokee family which is still in our midst, though against our will, prepared a heathen sacrificial feast in our village and invited to it a large number of heathen. We tried our best in love to keep them from it, that this offense should at least not be perpetrated in our place, but all was in vain. They carried out their purpose to hurt us, and encouraged the invited heathen in it, saying publicly that they could do in our village what they pleased; that the land was theirs and we would not dare to forbid them anything; that we could go back to the white people where we came from. When they saw that we would not bother with them nor try to oppose this wicked group of heathen, because we knew their evil intention all too well, they were astonished that we were so quiet and peaceable and that we gave them no occasion to carry out their evil intentions. A number of the heathen present went to Indian Br. Joshua and said that they were merely waiting that we should say something against their sacrifice in our village, then we would find out who they were. Joshua told them, "You wait in vain. The teachers will not have anything to do with you. They will not dispute with you, for what they cannot accomplish in love they will leave undone and tell it to God, who has all power to hinder all evil. You will see the day when you will meet some one who will oppose you." Thereupon they consumed their sacrificial meat and with a wild yell returned to their homes.

We saw once more quite clearly that the wild heathen are bent upon making our lives as disagreeable as possible in this place. Even in our own village we have two such families who are in full sympathy with the heathen and practice all sorts of heathen abominations before our eyes, and we dare not say a word if we do not want the whole mob upon us. For this reason this place becomes daily more unbearable to us, and we beseech our dear Lord and Saviour that He should graciously have mercy upon us and deliver us from this sad plight.

30th and 31st. We frequently considered together whether we should not leave this place without delay, for it is highly dangerous to the cause of God and to us, and go to a more quiet place where we might preach the Word of God in peace and safety, and also live in undisturbed peace from without. Greatly as this was desired, we could not come to a decision, because we would have to leave behind all of our planted corn. We would experience need in another place, for winter is not far off and nothing is to be had anywhere. We resolved, therefore, to await the answer of our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. We want to hear what they advise because we do not want to decide ourselves, unless driven to it by the greatest danger, but we rather yield ourselves to the direction of the Saviour and our dear brethren.

Herewith we greet all our dear brethren in the congregations and commend ourselves and our post to their prayer and remembrance to our dear Saviour.

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

THIRD QUARTER CONTINUED

August 1. In the evening, as usual, an address was delivered on the text for the day. The daily texts and watchwords are a great comfort to us in our hard lot.

2d. We sang a Passion liturgy.

4th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached on Rom. 8:12. In the afternoon Carl, the little son of Br. and Sr. Kluge, was taken with cold fever. Little Henrietta has been suffering also with fever for the last few days. We grown-up people are so far, God be praised, fairly well, and wish sincerely that we may be protected against the fever, for we have had sad experiences every year on account of it ever since we are here.

5th. An Indian and his family arrived here. When he heard that we had a meeting every evening, he stayed overnight in order that he might attend. After the meeting he showed that it had done him good. He told us he would move to us if we lived in another place.

6th. We experienced a special protection of God. Just as we two brethren and Br. and Sr. Kluge's little son Carl were together in Br. Luckenbach's house, a rattlesnake came in unnoticed until our little Carl discovered it and called our attention to it with his shrieks. We killed the snake and rejoiced that this creature did not hurt anyone. We also had a good opportunity to send to our friend Mr. Ziegler in Cincinnati a letter to our dear brethren in Bethlehem.

8th. We heard that the Indians living 4 miles from here would bring another lot of whisky for a frolic. This report was most unpleasant to us because we have much to fear from their drinking. They do all in their power now to make things unpleasant for us and never think of their promise to allow us to live in peace in our village and undisturbed from drunken people. For this reason we wish all the more to leave this place, the sooner the better. Here God's Spirit can no longer reign; that which is evil is ever increasingly gaining the upper hand.

9th. As is customary on a Friday, we sang this evening an Indian translation of a liturgy.

11th. Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon, and in the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

12th. We talked with our two communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. We had reason to feel happy over their hearts' condition. For this we thanked our dear Saviour with all our heart.

13th. Conscious of our great poverty and insufficiency, we united in spirit with our dear congregations and prayed to the dear Lord and Saviour that He should permit us, His poor servants, to have a share in the blessing which He granted His Church on this day, and fill our hearts sensibly with His love, so that we might love Him above all else, and one another, in order that we might live alone for Him in this world. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. Our dear Saviour revealed Himself in a special manner to the strengthening of our faith and the comfort of our poor hearts.

14th. We had a thanksgiving liturgy.

16th. We heard again all sorts of threats from some bad heathen. We told our interpreter, Br. Joshua, who brought us this report, that we committed ourselves into the hands of the Saviour, with the confidence through faith in Him that He would not allow us to suffer more than He would enable us to endure; that, if He permitted it that we should suffer for His cause, we would remember that, for our sake, He suffered and died that we might be saved.

18th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached on Luke 19:41-42. A number of heathen who happened to be in the village at the time, attended the service. After the service the heathen visited in our house, and upon their request we showed them the picture of the Saviour on the cross. This offered the further opportunity to tell them more of the love of Jesus for sinners. They appeared very attentive and afterward took friendly leave of us and rode home. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

19th. Two other Indian families came into our village to visit us. These visits usually have no other object than to get enough to eat for several days. Since these visits are very frequent and we change off in accommodating the visitors, it comes quite hard on us and the few Indians with us. These vagrant Indians do not hesitate to ask for the last mouthful. One really cannot eat anything in peace without their asking for it. They want one to give them something even though one has but little on hand. The worst of it all is that they get angry if their demands are not met at once.

21st. An Indian, accompanied by drunken Indians of both sexes, passed through our place with 5 barrels of whisky. We were happy when he had passed on with his whisky. Immediately all visiting Indians packed up, as did also our plague, the Cherokee family, and hastened after the whisky with shouts of joy. In the afternoon more Indians from the upper towns passed through here, on foot and on horseback, many of them being in such haste that they had stripped themselves naked, carrying their shirts, so that they might overtake the whisky the sooner. Others came running breathlessly, calling to one another that they were very thirsty for whisky. Here one could see rightly these poor slaves of sin rejoicing in their bonds. Four miles from our village this whisky was distributed. One Indian came late and found but six gallons left. This amount the whisky dealer had put aside. So that he might get this whisky for himself, the Indian gave the dealer a fine mare and her foal. This he did that he might drink his fill. It is indescribable how these Indians are given over to drink.

23d. The frequently mentioned Cherokees came into our place drunk and carried on here at a great rate. Being unable to do anything under such circumstances, we could do nothing but possess our souls in patience and keep still. We become more and more convinced that it is impossible for us to remain here much longer.

25th. At the usual time Br. Luckenbach preached on Rom. 6:12. In the evening, a heavy rainstorm made a meeting impossible.

26th. We heard to our great sorrow that the apostate old Br. Jacob had gone to a heathen sacrifice where he took the part of a heathen teacher, in that he held up toward the sun a deerskin and called loudly to its twelve spirits twelve times.[13] This is the customary ceremony of the heathen in this community in connection with their sacrifices. It is always performed by either an old man or an old woman, the one officiating receiving the skin as a reward. We still had hopes that this old man would eventually give up heathenism into which he had again sunk and once more yield himself to the Saviour, but now all hope of his return has disappeared. He will not see his danger to body and soul and allows himself to drift the farther into sin. More than once we have lovingly tried to show him his unfortunate condition and encourage him to return, but thus far all efforts have been in vain. He tells us that he is in doubt which teaching is true, that of the Saviour or that of the heathen.

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[13] The shorter Diary reads: "He held the skin of a goat toward the East and called 12 times aloud to the twelve Indian spirits."

28th. A French trader brought his brother here,—an old Frenchman who has suffered for a number of years from an open sore on his leg. He wanted Joshua to cure him because Joshua had told him that he had very good roots and plants with which he had cured more than one person and which would also help this man. The trader was very happy to hear this and promised him $50 if he would cure his brother. Should he be unable to heal his brother, he would give $20 for his trouble. Joshua who is old and poor and unable to earn much accepted this offer with joy and promised to do what he could.

29th. The trader gave him a horse with which to look up the plants and roots 40 miles away.

31st. Joshua returned and brought with him about half a bushel of snakeroot and other herbs with which he at once began the treatment. Joshua's wife, who is also acquainted with good curative herbs, brought hers together and the beginning looked very promising, because the herbs and roots appeared to have a good effect.

September 1. Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, St. Mark 7:31-37. A number of heathen who happened to be here on a visit attended the service. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

3d. On this and the following days our village was full nearly all the time with visiting heathen. Their object was to beg all sorts of things to eat, especially pickles and watermelons. For the sake of appearance they brought woolen bands and small silver buckles to be given in exchange. Because these things are worthless, we disregarded them, and gave the Indians as much of our fruits of the field as we could, so that we might get rid of the beggars in peace. Unfortunately they are not satisfied with begging; they go into our field and steal what they cannot beg, for stealing is quite the usual thing among the heathen in this section. They do not hesitate to steal from one another. We have often tried to tell such visiting Indians something about the Saviour, saying that the reason we were here was to acquaint the Indians with the Creator, but for such things they have no use and they know, too, how to make all sorts of excuses. They usually say, "We cannot understand that teaching, for it is only for white people." For this reason it always hurts us very much that we have been among them so long a time and still none of them have been found who were interested in their soul's salvation or who had at least a desire for the Word of God.

5th. We spoke with our few married people in preparation for the approaching Married People's Covenant Day. They always enjoy the celebration of this festival. They expressed their desire to remain true to the Saviour and the congregation as long as they lived, and ever to live for Him in this world. They also expressed the wish, as they have often done before, that they might soon move to another place, because they were surrounded here with so many unbelievers who have no inclination whatever to accept the Word of God, and sooner try to hurt them in every way possible and attempt to draw them away from the Saviour; that they were not at all happy on this account, because they had seen one after the other of our numbers misled by the heathen, etc. We comforted them as well as we could and begged them to keep all the more close to the Saviour and never to forget what it had cost Him to redeem them.

7th. We celebrated the Married People's Covenant Day, joining in spirit with the dear congregations and praying that our dear Saviour should graciously bless us few people in our loneliness here, too, and grant us a share in the common blessing which he had promised His Church for this day. Our dear Lord revealed Himself very perceptibly in all our festival gatherings and rejoiced our poor hearts with His gracious presence.

8th. At the usual hour Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon on Luke 10:25-28. A number of heathen were attentive hearers. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

9th. On this and the following days there was excessive drinking again in the Indian town 4 miles away. The Cherokee family was present, as is always the case. We were glad that none of the drunken Indians came into our village. This time we had no other trouble than that they sent for milk a number of times, which we gave them, too. On the whole, the drunkenness of the heathen is especially bad this summer. Hardly is a 50 gallon quantity of whisky consumed when another has been brought. This drinking never passes without the shedding of blood. Most of them usually look as if they had passed through some great sickness. In this way they destroy themselves.

10th. We heard that the chiefs had returned from Post Vincennes. They related that the Twechtowes, Pottowattamis and a number of other Indian nations had again given over a considerable tract of land to the white people, and that the nations mentioned had told the Governor that the Delawares no longer possessed any land of their own, consequently had no right to live on the White River; that they had merely allowed the Delawares to live on it but had never given it to them; that they wanted to have this land back again because the Delawares, without their consent, had begun to sell the land.[14] The Delawares here are consequently quite excited over it and want to move to the Mississippi, if the afore-mentioned Indian nations will not give them anew the land on the White River where they live. We also heard that the Cherokee nation had taken the warpath against the Schachki or Huschars on the Missway[15] at the instance of the Delawares, and that many had actually entered the war already. What the result of all this unrest among the Indians will be, time will tell.

12th. Br. Luckenbach rode up the river to Woapicamikunk 20 miles from us to get salt from a trader, Mr. Connor, who lives there. Here he met an old baptized woman who said to him, "I and my family have decided to go to Goshen this fall in order to live again among the believers. We well know that you preach the same Word of God and that to do so you have come here, but among these wicked heathen it is impossible for the believers to dwell in peace. For this reason we want to go far away so that they can no longer see us, for here they will give us no rest. They cannot bear to see anyone moving to you," etc. Br. Luckenbach told her they had resolved wisely and that they should do as they had decided. Time will tell if they are sincere in wanting to be saved and to flee all evil. Without exception, the meetings were held each evening this week and after the usual manner.

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[14] For Governor Harrison's report of the conference with the Indians, see Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:161-66. The treaty, signed by chiefs of the Delawares, Potawatomi, Miami, Eel Rivers, and Wea, is printed in Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, 2:80-82.

[15] The shorter Diary reads: "We also heard that the Cherokee nation had taken up the tomahawk against the Huschars on the Missouri which the Delawares had sent them and that a large number have gone there on the warpath." Harrison in a letter to the Secretary of War dated July 10, 1805, writes: "The Sacs and the Southern Indians have attempted to form a grand confederation against the Osages and the Delawares [to the west of the Mississippi] and the Shawnese of Cape Girardeau have acceded to it. I believe however that none of the Tribes in this Territory have engaged in it." Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:151.

15th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the text, St. Luke 17:11-19, and dwelt especially on the readiness of our Lord and Saviour to save every sinner who came to Him in faith with all his burdens of sin and sorrow, and who seeks help with Him alone, etc. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted a short song service.

16th. We reminded ourselves of the special Memorial Day for ministers of the Church, and joined ourselves with them in spirit and prayed to our dear Lord and Saviour for forgiveness, where we have not always dealt in accordance with His will and had thereby grieved His faithful heart. We besought Him to continue to reveal Himself graciously to us the poorest among His servants, and bless us and our work.

17th and 18th. We were busy writing letters to our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and got everything ready for the journey to Cincinnati. On the 19th our dear Br. Luckenbach rode off on horseback, with our best wishes, on his way to Cincinnati to get some letters and other things at Mr. Ziegler's.

21st. We had the pleasure of welcoming four Indians from Goshen. They were: Charles Henry, Ska, Thomas White Eyes, and Kaschatis. Through them we received precious letters from our dear brethren there, besides three Indian hymnbooks. For all of this we were very glad. We were very grateful to our dear Brs. David Zeisberger, Mortimer, and Heckewelder that they take such a warm interest in our present circumstances and expressed a willingness to come to our assistance. The Indian Br. Charles had been designated, in the name of our Indian congregation in Goshen and on the Pettquotting, to deliver a message to the Indian chiefs in this vicinity, with the special purpose of finding out how they felt toward us and the believing Indians. Soon after his arrival Charles Henry made known the purpose of his coming to the chiefs here, and because it so happened that 6 Wyandottes had brought them a message from their nation just at this time, on the 22d all the men together with their chiefs gathered in the Indian town, Woapiminschi, four miles from here. Here our Indian brethren from Goshen as well as the Wyandottes were asked to deliver their messages in the presence of the assembled Indians. To this end they built a large booth in the town mentioned and also killed a large bull. This afternoon, just as a large number of Indians gaily bedecked with feathers, Indian fashion, came into our village on their way to the solemn assembly in the Indian town 4 miles away, a terrible rainstorm broke forth, the like of which we never saw before. The treetops and branches flew about in the air and one heard the heaviest trees in the woods fall down. The Indians mentioned before, who reached here in the worst part of the storm, were quite disconcerted and knew not where to turn. Their horses were frightened and ran toward our houses. The Indians got them under control and they themselves came into our houses. After half an hour the storm abated. We thanked God that our houses were not blown over and that no one of us or of the numerous Indians here at the time was hurt. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon on I Tim. 2:4-6, in the English language. Charles Henry translated it into Delaware. Quite a number of heathen heard the sermon and listened attentively. Charles Henry speaks a pure Delaware, for which reason it pleased the heathen and our members especially. Even some of the heathen told Br. Kluge, "Keep this Indian here; we like to hear him better than Joshua, for we understand everything he says." There is really reason in this because many Indians cannot understand Joshua very well because his speech is a mixture of Monsey and Delaware.

In the evening we had a song service, using the newly printed Indian hymnbook which we had received from our dear Br. David Zeisberger. We rejoiced greatly over the large number of beautiful verses which the book contains.

23d. Charles Henry and his company, together with our Indian Brs. Joshua and Jacob, were invited to the assembled Indians and their chiefs in order to deliver their message brought from Goshen, in the presence of all the Indians. This Charles did in accordance with his commission and after the manner of Indians, giving satisfaction to all. As far as we know the message was favorably received by the Indians. In the message they were principally reminded of their old promise, which they acknowledged in the subsequent answer, and anew invited the believing Indians most heartily to settle in the Indian country. Believing that both message and answer of the chiefs will be announced from Goshen, we shall not record either in our diary. The principal purpose of the Indian chiefs is known well enough by us. They are anxious to have about them a large number of Indians so that outwardly they may give an appearance of strength and make a good appearance. For the Word of God they care not at all. Knowing that the believing Indians will not consent to come without it, they grant all the conditions of the believing Indians and promise a great deal. When they have attained their end, they forget their promises and would rather lead the believing Indians back into heathenism, at the same time blotting out both the Word of God and the regulations. This we have experienced to our great sorrow, since our being here. Still our earnest prayer to our Lord and Saviour is that He should stretch out His hand over this blind people, and despite all their opposition to His sweet gospel gather from among the heathen in this vicinity a reward for His suffering, and let them experience the power of His precious blood shed to their salvation.

25th. We heard that the Wyandottes' message to the chiefs here had no other object than to acquaint them with the wonderful vision an Indian woman had in Woapicamikunk this spring and to beg the Indians in this vicinity to permit the woman to come to them for a while so that they too might learn who among their people was bad and a master of poison. They complained that all men and children in their nation were dying one after the other, and that those who did not amount to much remained alive. Because they had heard that the said woman knew everything, they were anxious to take her with them. When they should bring the woman into their towns, then all Wyandottes should come together, so that the woman might look them over and if she should designate anyone as a bad person and a master of poison, that one should be put to death instantly, etc. The Delaware chiefs excused themselves and said that for the time being they could not spare the woman, because they intended to have sacrifices soon, at which time they would need the woman badly, for they themselves were not quite in order yet and ever forgetful what the woman had said as to how they should offer their sacrifices. With this the consultation came to an end, and the Wyandottes handed over a large number of wampum strings.

28th. Charles Henry and Ska left for Goshen and we sent with them a number of letters to the dear brethren there. Indian Sr. Catarina and her three children took this occasion to return to Goshen, for which we are glad. We heartily wish that things might be better with this family than they were in this place.

29th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Matt. 18:1-6. In the evening we had an Indian song service.

Fourth Quarter

October 1. This afternoon we had the pleasure of welcoming our dear Br. Luckenbach back from his journey to Cincinnati. We joined him in thanking the dear Saviour for His gracious protection of him on the journey to and fro. To our regret Br. Luckenbach brought neither the articles of clothing which we ordered a year ago nor any letters. Nothing for us was found at Mr. Ziegler's.

This has given us no little alarm, for winter is not far off and we need the clothing badly. Believing we would surely get it in good time, we made no purchase so as to make no expenses. Now however we are compelled to do so in order to have at least the most necessary articles of clothing. This will make a great deal of expense because everything is so excessively dear in this section of the country.

3d. We spoke with our few communicants in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. Their hearts' condition gave us pleasure. It was especially comforting and encouraging that our old Indian Br. Jacob, who since spring has been in error's way and consequently has given us a great deal of sorrow and pain, has come to his senses. Of his own accord he expressed himself penitent over his walk hitherto. We were only too happy to receive him in love and encouraged him to turn with all his trouble to the dear Saviour and ask Him for the forgiveness of all his sins, in which case he would learn that He is still the old friend of sinners, who loves to pardon. In answer to this, he said, "Yes, I will do that. Even now I feel much better than I did before."

4th. As usual on a Friday we sang a Passion liturgy this evening.

5th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the strengthening and comfort of our poor hearts. The Saviour was very near unto us and blessed us perceptibly.

6th. Early in the morning we had the thanksgiving liturgy. After that Br. Kluge conducted a separate meeting for the baptized and our old Br. Jacob was readmitted to the congregation. This proved a blessing to all. Many tears were shed and the peace of God filled our hearts, so that we anew felt ourselves comforted. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

7th. Indian Br. Joshua and a number of others from our village left for Fort Wayne to get their share of the presents which the American Government annually gives to the natives. The sum of money which was distributed among the Delawares in goods amounted to $1000.

8th. An Indian messenger from the Mississippi passed through our village with a message for the Indians. He carried two scalps of murdered Indians of the Huschars nation. They were hanging on a stick which he carried in his hand. A large number of Indians accompanied him. The messenger was a Delaware sent out with the two scalps by the Delawares living on the Mississippi. He presented them to the Indians in this neighborhood and invited them to join in the war on the Huschars, or to use the Indian expression, "to taste the soup which they would make of the said nation." As soon as the young Indians saw the scalps, the spirit of murder took possession of their hearts and they were eager to leave soon for the path of bloodshed. The second thing which this messenger brought was the invitation, in the name of his people, to all the Indians living here to move to the Mississippi where they would have their own land. Both matters were favorably received by the chiefs here and the rumor is that they will move there next spring. Time will tell whether this is true.[16]

9th. On this and the following days we were busy with our corn which will yield an exceptionally good harvest this year.

13th. No public service could be held because of the absence of our Indian Br. Joshua and several of our inhabitants in Fort Wayne. Our old Br. Jacob suffers from an attack of fever, so we talked with him and with two Indian sisters. We told them as well as we could about the Saviour's suffering and dying for us poor sinners and admonished them to remain faithful to the Saviour until we shall enjoy the favor of seeing Him face to face.

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[16] Harrison, writing in December of this year, indicates that the chiefs were opposed to this move: "The Delawares are indeed extremely restless and uneasy, they are much dissatisfied with the Miamies and all the young men are very desirous to join their countrymen on the west side of the Mississippi. The chiefs and old men wish to remain where they are and have applied to me to use my influence to prevent the intended emigration. I have as yet returned them no answer because I wished to be informed whether their stay or removal would best comport with the views of the President." Harrison to the Secretary of War, December 24, 1805. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:181.

14th. On this and subsequent days we were still busy with our corn. Having to do all our outside work alone, harvesting is a slow process. Nevertheless we are heartily grateful to our dear Lord and Saviour that all of us have been so exceptionally well this fall. Up to the present we have not suffered with fever, which is something that has not been the case since our being here.

18th. Indian Br. Joshua returned from Fort Wayne and brought with him an old gun and a little kettle as his share of the presents which were distributed. The said brother told us that the Indian chiefs had said to him that the invitation to move to the Mississippi had been accepted and that they would make a beginning with the removal the coming spring.

19th. We brought in our last corn from the field, and with this, this year's corn harvest is at an end. We were heartily grateful and thanked our Father in Heaven most sincerely that He had granted us the needful health to garner with joy what He had given us. This evening the inhabitants of our village assembled of their own accord and husked the greatest part of our corn, for which we were very grateful.

20th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Matt. 9:1-8. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

22d. Br. Joshua left for several days' hunting. Thomas White Eyes, who is in this neighborhood, also went. He was accompanied by one of his heathen relatives. Their intention is to remain in the woods all winter like the heathen. To our sorrow we see that this unfortunate fellow will sink entirely into heathenism, for his conduct since his arrival bears no semblance of the true faith.[17]

23d. On this and following days we collected the pumpkins in our cornfield and carted them home. These also turned out well this year. We have at least 4 wagon-loads of them.

25th. While busy with potato digging this afternoon, it began to snow hard. We had to go home.

26th. It still continued to snow so that it looks as it does in midwinter. The Indians were frightened on account of it. They said that they had never seen the like, this time of year, in this place. At once, too, a number of heathen appeared on the scene and predicted that this winter's snow would be deeper than ever before, and messengers were sent out to warn the hunters not to go too far into the woods. To their discomfiture, however, they saw the snow disappear in a few days and the most beautiful fall weather set in. Later on we heard that in Fort Wayne, which is three days' journey north of us, the snow had been a foot deep on the day mentioned. Joshua returned home toward evening. He had shot no more than two deer, while the Cherokees had shot 11 deer and a bear, and Thomas White Eyes had killed 15 deer and a bear.

27th. At the usual hour Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon, a number of heathen being present. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

28th. Joshua left on another several days' hunting trip. We two Brs. Kluge and Luckenbach were busy digging potatoes, and with this our field work was at an end for this year. We harvested this year: 130 bushels of corn; 12 bushels of potatoes. Our garden vegetables, like cabbage and turnips, did not turn out well this year because it was very dry the greater part of the summer. But we got a little of everything, for which we are heartily grateful to our dear Father in Heaven.

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[17] Thomas White Eyes was undoubtedly closely related to Alemi (George White Eyes), one of the Delawares who signed the treaties of 1804 and 1805. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:143, 149, 167; Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties,* 2:71, 81.

30th. Our old Indian Br. Jacob was again taken very sick. He was very weak and we doubted whether he would recover because his trouble is very much like consumption. We rejoiced all the more that for the time being he is in an encouraging spiritual state.

November 1. Joshua returned home and brought with him two more deer which he had shot. We noticed, however, that he did not look at all happy. This led us to suspect the worst. For some time he has been cold and indifferent, and we had reminded him several times to examine his heart and to keep himself close to the Saviour. Up to this time he always knew how to offer a great many excuses, but he could no longer conceal it because his committed unfaithfulness worried him. He therefore came to Br. Kluge and weeping freely he openheartedly declared himself, saying, among other things, "I am a poor sinner. I am not worthy that the Saviour should show me mercy. I would not have believed it that I was as bad as I am and would so sin in my old age. But now I see who I am, and for this reason I have no rest either day or night. Although nobody knows about it the Saviour knows and feels it," etc. Although it hurt us indescribably that this poor man with whom the Saviour has had so much patience and mercy already, had again fallen into such gross sin, we were grateful to the dear Saviour that He had given him no rest until he had penitently confessed his sin and had begged for mercy at His feet. On our part we had a great deal of sympathy for him and pointed him with all his burden of sin to the Saviour.

3d. Instead of a sermon we read a translation of an Indian address on the words, I John 2:15: "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world." A heathen family was present. In the evening we had an Indian song service.

5th. A heathen family who had been here for several weeks left for the woods where they will spend the whole winter in hunting.

7th. An Indian came to Joshua and ordered a large canoe which he is to have finished for him by spring. At that time a number of the Indians intend to leave for the Mississippi. Those who have no horses expect to go by water. It seems as if after all, many, if not all, of the Delawares would leave this neighborhood.

10th. At the usual time we prayed the Church litany in Indian. In the evening we had a song service, repeating the verses line after line because we notice that our few Indian members are anxious to learn the hymns, which they would like very much.

13th. In spirit we joined our dear congregations in prayer to our dear Lord and Saviour, as the Chief Elder and Head of His Church, asking that He should forgive us wherever we had been in His way and had grieved His faithful heart, and surrendered ourselves anew to Him and His will, and prayed to Him for grace. We also committed ourselves and our post to His gracious guidance. Our dear Saviour mercifully regarded us, his poor servants, and granted us His peace.

14th. An Indian family came here to stay with us over winter, as they said, because the sister of the head of the family (the Cherokee woman) lives here. When we asked him for the real reason of his coming, he said, "I bought a pig in your village and I want to look after it so that it will not come to harm this winter. Meanwhile I will attend your meetings if I feel like it." We told him that we were glad that he visited us, but that we would be all the happier if he had come here for no other purpose than to hear the Word of God, especially since he expected to stay some time, etc.

15th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy, the visiting Indian family being present.

17th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on the text, Phil. 3:17-20. Being kept from it by circumstances last evening, we enjoyed this evening the body and the blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. Our hearts were comforted thereby, the Saviour being very near unto us, and granting us His peace.

18th. We had a thanksgiving liturgy.

20th. We visited our old sick Br. Jacob, as we usually do every day. We found him in a very encouraging state of heart. Among other things, he said, "I am now entirely surrendered to the will of the Saviour. Physically I am very weak. I feel myself very poor indeed. I can do no more than pray to the dear Saviour to have mercy on me and help me as long as I have to be in this world." We comforted him in a loving manner and urged him to keep very close to the Saviour, and to remind himself often how much the dear Saviour had suffered to redeem us. We are very sorry that this old brother is outwardly so forsaken and that he has no proper care in these days of his sickness. Since the daughter of his departed wife left him and went to her friends, he lies all alone in his house. Naturally we do all that we can for him, but this does not give him the comfort he would have if he could be taken care of by one of his own people, as he frequently tells us. But we cannot help him out in this respect. We have only a few old Indian sisters who belong to us and they have enough to do with themselves. The other inhabitants of the village are like all other heathen and do not bother about him at all, for they do not care how the believers fare. In fact, the Indians here have very little sympathy for their sick friends.

21st. Old Br. Jacob's daughter, a heathen, visited him and promised to move to him with her husband and children so as to take better care of him. The old brother was very happy over this.—The evening meetings were held this week after the usual manner. Several of them were attended by heathen strangers.

22d. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy.

24th. At the usual time Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon on St. Matt. 22:1-13. In the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

26th. An Indian came here with a white man who had recently come from South Carolina. They stayed in our village for several days, in which time they attended the evening meetings.

28th. Old Br. Jacob's daughter and a number of Indian women came and, instead of keeping her promise and moving here to take care of her old father, she took him away in a canoe to her own house three miles from here, saying she would keep him until he was better, after which she would bring him back. We reminded her that she had promised her old father that she would not take him away, but would move to him so as to take better care of him, and now we saw the contrary. She excused herself by saying that her daughter was very sick and could not be brought here nor did she want to separate from her; but wanting to take care of her sick old father she could do nothing else for the time being than to take him to her home. Though we did not like to see it, we could not prevent it, for old Jacob himself was anxious to go to his daughter. We admonished him with all our heart that he should by no means forget the Saviour, but seek refuge with Him under all circumstances and not look for help and comfort anywhere else than with our Saviour. This he promised to do, and we commended him to the grace and protection of the Saviour.

29th. We butchered a two-year-old ox of our own in order to lay up a store of meat for the winter. Salt being very dear in this part of the country, we sold a quarter of the ox to a trader, taking salt in exchange.

December 1. First Sunday in Advent. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Matt. 21:1-11. In the first part of the service we thanked our dear Lord and Saviour for His incarnation and prayed that He should Himself prepare our hearts that the sweet story of His birth and death might ever be sacred to us and feed our hearts. In the evening Br.

Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

3d. We heard that a Schawano Indian had arisen among the heathen as teacher, and that a large number of Delawares and Schawanos had come together in Woapicamikunk to hear what this heathen teacher had to say.[18] As usual his teaching consists of all sorts of ancient heathenism. In addition, he forbids all coarse sins, and [insists] that parents should not strike their children. He also urges most strongly that the Indians should sacrifice; that they should do away with their cattle and keep horses only; that the heathen should shave their heads and live as did the Indians in olden days. He assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more. He also related in an address that God had shown him a crab whose claws were quite full of seaweeds; that the spirit had told him, "Look! this crab is from Boston and has brought with it something of the land there. If you Indians will do everything I tell you I will turn over the land so that the white people are covered and you alone shall possess the land." The Schawanos are gathering together and upon the advice of their teacher plan to build a large town, not far from Greenville,[19] that is to remain a hundred years. To this project they have also invited the Delawares. These, however, are divided in their opinions: some want to go with the Schawanos; others desire to move to the Mississippi. It is astonishing that the poor blind heathen do not become tired believing the lies of their teachers, especially so since they have been so often deceived. But unfortunately these lies still meet with great favor.

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[18] Here we have the first mention of the presence of Tenskwatawa, the famous Prophet, brother of Tecumtha.

[19] That is, Greenville, Ohio.

4th. An Indian messenger whom the Delaware chiefs sent to the Indians of the lower towns, to invite them to come and hear the teaching of the Schawano, passed through our village, but none of the heathen in the lower towns had any desire to go to Woapicamikunk.

5th. In the evening an Indian came into our house and told us a great many things about the Indian teacher, principally that he knew all things. He assured us that this new Indian teacher had been a very bad person, but that now he spoke only good things, for which reason the Indians believed what he said. We pointed out the groundlessness of his teaching so that the Indian knew no more to say, and then we proclaimed to him the Saviour as the only way of salvation, whereupon he took friendly leave of us and went home yet during the night.

6th. After the evening meeting the mother of the Cherokee family came to Joshua and his wife, talked quite penitently of her way of living hitherto, and expressed her desire, as she had frequently done before, for baptism. We were very glad to hear this, for we had long wished that this poor person might come to her senses and realize her lost condition, so that the Saviour might have more pleasure in her than hitherto.

8th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Luke 21:25-58. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

10th. The said Cherokee woman whose name is Quekeny came to Br. Kluge and told him that she now felt herself so poor and sinful, saying, "I have committed a great many sins in my time. But I always thought that I was good, because I did not steal. Now, however, I realize that I am a great sinner and have no rest for I always think that I will be lost. Because I have heard so often that in love the Saviour had given His life for sinners so that they might not be lost but through faith in Him have eternal life, I thought that I too might be saved, for I am now persuaded that no one save He can help me and deliver me from the power of Satan. For this reason, I wish with all my heart to be baptized." Br. Kluge expressed his joy over her request and begged her to hold fast to her resolution, for this desire of hers for salvation came from God, who by His great mercy had acquainted her heart with it through His Spirit, that she too could be saved by the blood of Jesus alone, and enjoy deliverance from all her sins. He assured her that we would think of her in connection with baptism.

13th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy. The evening meetings were held as usual this week, without exception.

15th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, Matt. 11:2-6. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day. In the missionary conference afterward it was decided that the Cherokee woman should be baptized on Christmas Day.

16th. The Cherokee woman was acquainted with the approaching favor, which gave her great joy.

17th. and on the following days Br. Kluge talked a while each day with the candidate for baptism to instruct her in preparation for the baptism, seeking to make this matter very important and clear, and to impress it upon her heart.

19th. In the afternoon we had a heavy thunderstorm accompanied by severe hail, which destroyed a number of our paper windows. Some of our Indian members happened to be in the woods at the time looking for wild hemp. These were compelled to hide behind large trees and to hold on to them so as not to be blown away by the terrible storm.

22d. At the usual hour Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon. In the afternoon, during a heavy rain, former Chief Tedpachsit and his family arrived here, to spend the holidays with us, as he said, and to hear well the story of our Saviour's birth. We were very glad to hear that they had come to hear the Word of God, as they said. At the same time we could not rejoice altogether over their visit, because they had secretly brought a small barrel of whisky with them in order, as they said, to sell it in the Indian town four miles from here. Because we feared that disorder might arise in our village on account of it, we told them that they had to give us the whisky for safekeeping, if they wanted to stay overnight. They consented to do so, and promised, too, to take the whisky away the first thing the next day, which was also done.

23d. We had the joy of seeing our old sick Indian Br. Jacob come back. He had himself taken to his daughter, thinking that he would have better care, but he could not stand it any longer, longing for the Word of God and our fellowship, which he was denied with his heathen daughter. For this reason he had himself brought to his own house. When we visited him, he expressed his joy over being with us again.

24th. Everybody got ready for the Christmas Eve celebration. We passed the evening in the near presence of God our Saviour, and we rejoiced at a love feast over the great love of God our Saviour, that for our salvation He became man, and through His suffering and death made us happy. Chief Tedpachsit with his family and a number of other heathen attended the Christmas celebration and listened attentively.

Christmas Day, the 25th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day. He dwelt especially on the birth of our Saviour and what joy and salvation for time and eternity have come to us through Him, which blessing all might enjoy who believed on Him. At the conclusion of the service Br. Kluge baptized the Indian woman Quekeny with the name of Hannah, into Jesus' death. While this ceremony was performed the gracious presence of God was felt, and many of those present broke out into loud weeping. Even a couple of wild heathen, who were quite wild and raw, who had come into the meeting, became quite silent and attentive, so that in joy and gratitude toward our dear Lord and Saviour we could cry out, "This is the day that the Lord hath made." In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

26th. We talked individually with our few members in preparation for the Holy Communion. The testimony of most of them was encouraging and proved that the gracious work of the Holy Spirit was going on in their hearts. This comforted us, because we believe that in spite of our small number the Lord and Saviour is in our midst, according to His promise.

28th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. This strengthened our faith and quickened our poor needy hearts. The Saviour was near unto us and granted us His peace.

29th. In the morning we first had the thanksgiving liturgy and after that Br. Luckenbach preached on I Cor. 1:18, at the usual time.

31st. At three o'clock in the morning a little son rejoiced the hearts of Br. and Sr. Kluge. The New Year's Eve services could not be held on account of the circumstances mentioned. There was held nothing but a meeting in which Br. Luckenbach laid it especially upon the hearts of the brethren and sisters how needful it was to examine one's self very often to see if the heart was in constant readiness to receive the Saviour in love when He shall come again or we shall be called home to Him. At the conclusion of this address we knelt down in prayer and thanked our dear Saviour for every proof of His love, faithfulness, and protection, and with penitent hearts asked him for forgiveness of all in which we have grieved His faithful heart, and we commended ourselves to His loving heart for His further gracious guidance and protection.

When we look back over the past year we find that it has been an unusual year of trial, in that the godlessness of the savages not only took the upper hand among themselves, but the peace that we enjoyed hitherto from the savages has also been disturbed in our place through the manifold enmities and threats, which, as may be seen from our diary, caused us to suffer a great deal. More than once our hope and courage sank, especially so because we could see no fruits of the preaching of the saving Word of God, to our great sorrow. Still we have much to be thankful for. We are grateful to our Saviour that He took us, His poor and weak servants, under His gracious protection, and graciously averted the threatening dangers, so that our trials served to keep us all the closer to the faithful hand of Jesus under all conditions. We also reminded ourselves with grateful hearts of the many rich blessings enjoyed from within and without, especially for the favor that we were shielded entirely from the usual fever.

In view of the many proofs of our Saviour's faithfulness and blessings, and conscious of our manifold weaknesses and shortcomings, we stand before Him as sinners and must unanimously confess, "Oh, dear Saviour! If we would not have Thee, and if Thy blood did not plead for us sinners, whither should we, the poorest of the poor, turn then?"

During the past year one heathen adult woman was baptized; one sister died. Indian Sr. Catarina with her two children moved from here to Goshen. We have at present 5 baptized persons, of which 3 are communicants. We have 4 unbaptized persons. Our population, therefore, numbers 9 persons, six less than at the close of the former year.

DIARY OF THE LITTLE INDIAN CONGREGATION ON THE WHITE RIVER FOR THE YEAR 1806

FIRST QUARTER

NEW YEAR'S DAY, *January 1.* After the morning service held at the usual time, the little son of Br. Kluge, who was born yesterday, was baptized into Jesus' death and received the name of John Henry. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted a song service.

2d. This evening we visited our old Br. Jacob who suffers a great deal from sickness and the infirmities of old age. He expressed the wish that the Saviour might soon take him from this world and put an end to his misery, for he was tired of life. Br. Luckenbach comforted him and urged him to surrender himself entirely to the will of the Saviour. He assured him that the Saviour loved us all and him, too, with inexpressible love; that He would come and take him home when his time had come; and then he would be beyond all trouble and forever thank the Saviour for His grace. He begged him to be sure and remain faithful to the Saviour unto the end and trust to His merits.

3d. Today Tedpachsit said to Br. Kluge what he had said before, that he wished to spend the festival days with us, and hear the Word of God. Now, however, he had resolved to stay longer and attend the meetings, if we had no objections. He said he was anxious to understand correctly what he had heard in the services.

4th. The daughter of sick Jacob came with her family to nurse her father. Up to this time he only had the care of one of his small grandchildren. She said she often thought of her deceased sister Magdalene, who was baptized here four years ago and soon after died happy, and how beautifully she spoke. She wished to follow her example some time and be saved, too, if she only knew how to go about it. We advised her to attend the meetings diligently and to listen to the Word of God, then she would soon learn how she could be saved, for in them all that was said made plain the way of salvation.

5th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

Epiphany, the 6th. We first had morning prayer in commemoration of the day. After a short address the little congregation knelt in prayer, and Br. Kluge thanked the Saviour for all the evidences of His grace, mercy and patience daily shown us, and prayed that He, our Saviour, should this day reveal Himself to us and bless us perceptibly. After this meeting, at the usual hour, Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon on the gospel for the day: Matt. 2:1-12. In the afternoon we had a pleasant love feast which the two visiting families attended. In the evening, Br. Kluge spoke on the text for the day, taken, however, from the textbook of last year, not having received a new one.

8th. Old former Chief Tedpachsit and his wife asked permission to live here. We allowed it after they promised to obey our rules and regulations of the congregation. In the evening meeting this was announced to the members and they were urged to receive them in love.

10th. Our sick Br. Jacob had Br. Kluge called to him as he believed that his end was near, and wanted once more to talk over everything. He replied most encouragingly to the questions put to him and testified of his own accord, in the presence of his heathen daughter and all our people how happy he had been as long as he believed in the Saviour. Now at his dissolution, he knew nothing else and trusted in nothing but the mercy and forgiveness of our Saviour, who had washed him in baptism with His own blood from all his sins. He then begged us, as he was still conscious, to receive the blessing for his final departure. This was done in the presence of all the inhabitants of our village. A deep feeling of God's nearness was distinctly felt. Several were moved to tears and expressed the wish that their end might be like that of the brother lying there prepared to die.

12th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on Rom. 12:1-2. In the afternoon Br. Kluge visited the old sick Br. Jacob and found him in an unchanged beautiful frame of mind. He complained that he had many pains in his emaciated body, but said he: "I am happy and well at heart. I am glad that I feel that the Saviour will soon take me home to Himself." Br. Kluge comforted him with the assurance that now the Saviour would surely receive him unto Himself soon, where he would see Him face to face and live with Him forever, and where there shall be no more pain, but the fullness of joy and love, etc. This rejoiced the sick man greatly and revealed his grateful heart. Finally he asked for a little tea, since he cannot enjoy anything any more. Br. Kluge immediately brought it to him, whereupon he became quite still.

13th. In the afternoon Br. Kluge again visited Jacob and found him dying, his eyes having already grown dim. Br. Luckenbach and all our members were immediately called together. While in preparation for his departure, we sang some verses of a hymn: "His suffering has released Thee," he quietly fell asleep. His age was about 70 years. After the death of the happy brother, his heathen daughter told us that her father had requested that nothing reminiscent of the heathen Indian customs should be followed. He wished that his body should be taken in charge by us. He also expressed the wish that none of the heathen howling and lamentations should be allowed, and that the mourners should remain quiet and orderly at the funeral. This was the way of believing Indians, therefore she wanted to respect her father's wishes and leave his body in our hands. Br. Kluge assured her that we would bury her departed father as our dear brother, after the custom of believing Indians, and as was proper, over which she seemed pleased and conducted herself in a quiet and orderly manner. There being no Indian brethren, Brs. Luckenbach and Joshua made the coffin, Br. Kluge making the shroud, while the old Frenchman, Sr. Theresa's husband, dug the grave.

15th. In the afternoon we buried our Br. Jacob in our graveyard, using the customary burial liturgy. Now we have only one Indian brother left and that is Joshua. He alone remains of those who came with us from Goshen. What is still more depressing is that there is not a solitary sinner among the heathen who wishes to be saved and take the place of the Indians who came with us to this country. This is our greatest distress and often discourages us.

16th and 17th. We brought in our last haystack on a sleigh.

18th. The daughter of the recently departed Br. Jacob and her family returned to their home. She promised to come soon again to hear the Word of God.

19th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon. After the service old Chief Tedpachsit and his wife came to us and asked if we would help them bring their corn and other things here from their old home. Although we are in need of help ourselves, in that, with the exception of Joshua, we have no Indian brethren who can be of assistance to others, we were anxious to show them that we gladly help them all we can under the circumstances, and promised them the use of one of our horses on which to pack their things. Joshua also offered to bring some of their effects with his horse, over which they showed their satisfaction.

20th. The said Chief Tedpachsit with Joshua started out on the way to his old home 15 miles away, and on the 23d Joshua returned alone with two pack-horse loads of corn.

25th. The old Chief and his wife returned, too, but, to our great astonishment, without bringing any of their belongings for which they had chiefly gone. We soon were made aware that the lying prophets of the savages had confused them and had dissuaded them from moving to us. We were very sorry to hear this. The wicked enemy is very busy again among the savages. His instruments, the heathen teachers, have come to the front with might again and say that they have again had visions from God. The Schawanos made the beginning and sacrificed day and night, at the direction of their teacher, in connection with which their teachers assured them that God would hear their prayer and that they would live 200 years more. Later all Schawanos are to assemble near Greenville and there build a town, and drink no more whisky. The best of all of these teachings is that they prohibit the drinking of whisky. If only the Indians would follow this injunction! Soon after the Delawares also had visions. The Schawano prophet described God as having a head half gray and half white, for the remaining part being like an Indian. The teachers of the Delawares said that God had white hands, but otherwise he had the form of an Indian. Their teaching consists chiefly of this: they are to sacrifice diligently, then God may hear them. On the contrary, however, if they would not they would all be destroyed within a month by a whirlwind. An old Indian woman, baptized in olden times, named Beate, who is the greatest lying prophet, pretends to have seen God Himself and also an angel. The first asked her if she was clean and when she answered in the affirmative, he said, "We shall see if you are clean. If you are clean the good spirit will enter into you." He then showed her a small white thing, which came to her. Thereupon God said: "Hold up your hands! this is the good spirit. Take it and swallow it." But when she wanted to do it, the little white thing went away again. God then told her to call it, which she did, whereupon it returned and went as far down as the throat, immediately coming out again. She called it again, and when it had again come into her hands, she gently put it into her mouth and swallowed it. The good spirit was therefore inside of her and consequently she spoke only the Word of God. Such and similar blasphemous things meet with favor among the poor blind heathen.

The Indians flocked through our village on their way to the appointed house of sacrifice, and spoke with the greatest wonder and respect about these lies. They also promised to drink no more whisky. This last thing would be well, but they promised the same thing at last year's sacrifices, but unfortunately failed to keep their word, and drank more than ever. They see with their own eyes that, with all their sacrifices, they accomplish nothing, and that all that their liars tell them does not go into fulfillment, still they believe and permit themselves to be frightened and deceived, and that under the guise of teaching virtue. Oh, that the Saviour might have mercy on these slaves of sin and of Satan, and open their eyes, that they might see in what a terrible state they are!

26th. At the usual hour Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon, and in the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

28th. Old Chief Tedpachsit packed his belongings again, and went with his family, as he said, to his old sugar place in order to make some sugar there yet this spring, because he is well prepared in that place for the purpose. After the sugar making he said he would come again. But from what we have learned from our members to whom he expressed himself more freely, the reason given for going away was a mere pretext, the real reason being the fear of the death predicted by the lying prophet: namely, that all those Indians who would not come to the appointed sacrificial feast would die. This he believed in secret although he publicly denied it before us and declared it a lie. From this we learn that the poor fellow still hovers between fear and hope, and is not quite able as yet to decide to let go of everything. We treated them with sympathy and pointed out to them that they would make themselves eternally unhappy if they were unfaithful to their convictions and would not surrender themselves to God our Saviour, for He had given them the desire to be saved, for which reason it was their duty to remain faithful to it, etc. Whereupon they promised once more at the time of their leave taking that they would come again. Time will tell, whether they told the truth or not.

29th. Toward evening we had the pleasure of welcoming a brother from Goshen.[1] This poor man suffered a great deal on his journey on account of the time of year, and we joined with him with all our heart in thanking the dear Lord that He brought him safely and well to us. Through this Indian brother we received with not a little joy letters from our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference and from the dear Br. David Zeisberger and Br. Mortimer in Goshen. The contents of these letters gave us a great deal of earnest thought, because, at the direction of the dear Saviour, the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference advised us to transfer our mission to another place. In considering this matter a great many objections presented themselves, chiefly, because we lack hands to help us to do all that is necessary in getting settled elsewhere, not to mention other difficulties in the way. At the same time we could not lightly put it aside because it is the will of our dear Lord and Saviour, and what He desires of us, by His grace, we want to do. Trusting to the help of our dear Lord, we accepted this proposition with willing hearts, and with the full confidence in our dear Saviour that if He asks us to do something, He will also assist us in carrying out His purpose. With it all we comforted ourselves with the thought of the faithful intercession of all true brethren in the congregations to the dear Lord and Saviour.

30th. On this and subsequent days we were busy writing letters to our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and to our dear brethren in Goshen.

February 1. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, St. Matt. 20:1-16. A number of heathen attended the service. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

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[1] The shorter Diary reads, "Benjamin, an Indian brother from Goshen."

3d. In the afternoon came the Nanticoke Chief with his people, women and children. He was on his way to the feast of sacrifice of the Delawares. Being late they stayed in our village overnight and all attended the evening meeting which Br. Kluge conducted. Br. Luckenbach's house, where the service was held, was crowded. Br. Kluge related to them the great and saving story of the incarnation, suffering and death of our Saviour, and that out of love He had done all this for us poor sinners, so that we might not be lost but through faith in Him have eternal life. He appealed to them to accept this great mercy and yield themselves body and soul to God our Saviour. Whereupon the Nanticoke Chief, after the manner of Indians (to show that he had understood it), made a loud noise. For want of room in the Indian houses, one family slept in Br. Luckenbach's house. The mother of this family related that she had been baptized in an Irish settlement. Both she and her husband could speak English fluently, so that Br. Luckenbach could converse freely with them. But they seemed to have very little inclination for the Word of God.

4th. They went on their way.

5th. The Indian Br. Benjamin prepared himself for his journey. We provided him well with provisions for the journey and early on the morning of the 6th he began his return trip to Goshen, accompanied with our best wishes for the protection and help of our dear Lord.

7th. Indian Br. Joshua returned home from Woapicamikunk without having attained his object. He had gone principally, with our consent, to interview old Chief Tedpachsit and two other Indians living there who pretend to be our friends and who said more than once that they would move to us, to find out if they knew of some suitable location for our new mission place. To his astonishment our Joshua learned that they no longer were the

Indians they once were. Not only did they show themselves perfectly indifferent to the cause of God, but they were unwilling to describe to him the different communities. They told Joshua that we had better stay where we are. Old Chief Tedpachsit put aside all his hypocrisy and said that our teachers were only for white people; that the Indians had another skin and had in consequence received another doctrine from God; that he knew all too well that the teaching of the white people led straight to hell, for he had known more than one Indian who had been dead for a day or still longer and then revived again, and that such had told him that they had not seen an Indian in hell, but all white people, etc. From this we see that even the best words of Indians when they visit us are hardly to be believed. At present there are positively no prospects of seeing the conversion of the heathen in another place, nevertheless, by the grace of God we will not be deterred and meanwhile we comfort ourselves with the thought that better times may be coming.

8th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and the blood of our Lord and Saviour in the Holy Communion to the quickening of our poor hearts.

9th. At the usual time Br. Luckenbach preached the sermon and in the evening Br. Kluge conducted the meeting and spoke on the text for the day.

10th. More Indians passed through here on their way to the frequently mentioned feast of sacrifice in Woapicamikunk.

11th. Joshua went into the woods for several days to make raccoon traps.

12th. We began boiling sugar, and although there were only a few days favorable for this we made 62 pounds of sugar from the sugar sap gathered. For this we thanked our dear Father in Heaven with all our hearts.

15th. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached the sermon on the gospel for the day, St. Luke 18:31 ff. Several

Indians passing through here were present. In the evening Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting.

17th. Hannah, the woman baptized on Christmas Day, came to Br. and Sr. Kluge and said that she had heard that her brother was very sick in the Indian town 10 miles from here where he lives, and that she would like to go and visit him; that she would return in two days. All this she knew how to say in a very earnest manner, assuring us that she had no other object in view than that of visiting her sick brother. Not being able to prevent it, we lovingly admonished her to guard her heart and diligently think of the Saviour, that she might act and walk worthily of the grace received, and never to forget that she no longer lived as unto herself but as unto the Saviour. But unfortunately to our great sorrow we learned after several days that this recently baptized woman had already gone the way of hypocrites. Instead of visiting her brother, as she pretended, out of fear she went straight to Woapicamikunk to the heathen assembled there in order to listen to the foolish teaching of the lying prophet and to take part in their heathenish practices. She had hoped to do this in secret and then come home again, but the heathen do not allow anyone to go home from their gathering until a heathen teacher of the Schawano nation has come and pointed out to them who among the Delawares made use of poison, which practice they want to abolish. Unfaithful Hannah, in punishment, was not allowed to return home until the heathen were through with their fuss.

Such occurrences among our few people rob us of all courage so that we frequently do not know what to do or say. It seems as if it were impossible to win even one soul here for the Saviour and to keep it faithful.

19th. An old Indian from Woapicamikunk passed through our place and stopped in at the house of Joshua. This fellow was well primed with blasphemy against the believers and the Word of God, and said among other things: that he and all the Indians very well knew that all those who believed and accepted the teachings of the white people (meaning us) would go straight to hell; that as soon as an Indian was baptized he was in a covenant with the Devil and belonged to him. He expressed his pity for Joshua that he was so ignorant and still believed the teaching of the white people, etc. Joshua answered him, "You don't need to pity me. The rather, pity yourself that you are still so blind and ignorant that you prefer to believe the lies of the heathen teachers to the Word of God which we have. I have more reason to feel sorry for you, which I do, too. I pity all of you very much and wish that you might realize how miserable you are." The hardened Indian laughed at this, and boasted that their teaching was the best for them. This Indian also came into our house and asked for something to eat because he was very hungry. The words of the apostle occurred to us, "If thine enemy hungers feed him." We therefore gave him something to eat, over which he was very glad and went his way. At present we are a thorn in the eyes of the heathen. They positively forbid one another to hear the Word of God and admonish each other to be true to their own teaching, which becomes more foolish every day. For the time being we can therefore do nothing other than to commend the cause here to the Saviour; He alone can comfort our heavily burdened hearts that we do not succumb entirely.

21st. An Indian messenger from the assembled Indians in Woapicamikunk came here from the Indian captains with a black string of wampum to call the Indians still missing, and especially our interpreter Br. Joshua. Not finding our Joshua at home he came to Br. Kluge and quite brutally and savagely demanded to be told where he was. When Br. Kluge told him that Joshua was in the woods making raccoon traps he requested that he should be called home at once. Br. Kluge answered, "The reason why you call our Joshua is not so important that we should at once summon him. And in addition to that, he is a believer and therefore has nothing to do with your business. When he returns home, we will tell him about it. But call him, we will not." Whereupon the Indian left late in the evening, saying that he would stop here on his way back and talk with Joshua himself.

22d. Our Indian Br. Joshua came home of his own accord, whereupon we told him that the savages had called him to their heathen affair in Woapicamikunk. He answered, "God forbid! I do not want to have anything to do with their heathen business. I am constantly praying that the Saviour should keep me faithful unto the end, and to protect me from the Devil in this dangerous time," etc. He made the same declaration to a chief from the Indian town 4 miles from here on the same day, when the said chief told him that all Indians had to assemble because the examination to determine who had poison or who practiced sorcery from which so many Indians die, would soon take place; that they were anxious to get rid entirely of such a bad thing among them.

23d. At the usual time Br. Kluge preached on II Cor. 6:14-18. After the sermon everybody returned to his sugar place.

24th. In company with Indian Br. Joshua, Br. Luckenbach rode up along the river to look about for a suitable location for a mission settlement.

26th. They returned home. They had found no suitable place this time, with the exception of one which lies about six miles above Woapicamikunk. This place would have been fairly good for a little Indian congregation, but since the road from Fort Greenville, from which [place] annually a great deal of whisky is brought by the Indians, is near there, we could not think of building there. Apart from this place, they found farther up the river nothing but woods and submerged bottom lands.

29th. With the same purpose in mind, the two brethren mentioned before rode away, this time southward along the river to a creek which empties into the White River about 8 miles from here. They examined that neighborhood but found nothing but marshy plains and some very low-lying bottoms covered with heavy wood. We could not believe that any Indians would follow us to such a neighborhood or move to us, the Indians in this section of the country being much too lazy for hard work, for they do not plant more than they have to on the open prairie, much less would they first clear away a heavy forest. This we know by experience with our few believers, and these far excel the savages, as far as planting is concerned. Furthermore, near this place is a large road from the Ohio Falls on which large quantities of whisky are brought every spring, therefore, there was no suitable place to be found for our settlement on this creek.

We next turned our eyes to the river Mississinaway (Indian Lemachtschesink) which belongs to the Twechtowes or Miamis. It is a day's journey north from here and like the White River empties into the Wabash. To this river on

March 3 we went on a journey of inspection, but found nothing that we wanted, namely, plains or good open bottoms for planting. There were two plains there, but both were under water and the bottom land was covered with heavy timber, and that so low that even at this time when water is not high it was under water. But since this is the only vicinity near which no whisky is brought, we kept this place in mind and resolved to look it over more carefully, and should we find it a good place we would ask the Twechtowes for their consent.

But soon after we learned that the Indians were very much dissatisfied that we were looking about for another place. They said, "The believers have a good place, they are well established there, and live but 5 years in that place and now they want to move away. They want to settle on our hunting grounds and scatter our game still more. We will not allow it. If they will not remain where the chiefs put them, they will have to go where they came from," etc. We therefore decided to acquaint the chiefs with our purpose, in a speech, and also to tell them the reason why we can no longer remain at our old place. The address to the chiefs was as follows, "Friends! You know that we and the believers on the Muskingum renewed our friendship with you last fall, and rejoiced to learn that you still remained true to your word, namely, that you are glad to have the believing Indians and their teachers with the Word of God near you. For this reason, too, we like to be near you, and do not want to separate ourselves from you, although but few have accepted this great Word of God thus far. We therefore constantly pray to God for you that He should grant you a true desire for this great Word, for it is faith in this great Word of God, alone, that will bring you eternal happiness. Now, Friends, listen further to what we have to say! You know that it is almost 5 years that we are living in this place where you chiefs put us, and in this time we have found out that this is not a good place for believing Indians. Because it is needful that with the Word of God we may be quiet and undisturbed, we came to the conclusion that it would be better if we were a little more to one side, where the Indians who from time to time accept the Word of God might live unmolested. We therefore ask your permission to look for a suitable place not far from here. Perhaps you might be able to give us good advice because you are better acquainted with this part of the country than we. This it is that we want to ask of you, our friends. We heartily wish that you may ever be our true friends, yes, like those of our own flesh and blood." This message was sent together with a white string of wampum.

10th. The brethren Luckenbach and Joshua took the string of wampum to the chiefs assembled in Woapicamikunk. It was handed over to them in the name of us all after the usual manner. To our great astonishment they received no audience. The Chief gave back the wampum string and said, "We have now found something new. (The foolish visions.) We are busy with that now and have no time to bother with anything else. The old no longer has any weight because the old people no longer have anything to say. The young people now rule. Even if we do tell you something at present, it cannot be anything but lies. You don't have to be in any hurry, you can stay where you are. After we are finished with the matter in hand, we may have something to tell you." At length they became impatient and said, "You can do as you please. We have nothing to tell you." From this we see very clearly that they do not want to have anything further to do with us nor to allow us to go to a new place. Nevertheless, we would not give up hope but firmly resolved with God's help, to carry out our purpose. But alas! on the 13th we were brought to a sudden halt in our intentions by the following sad occurrence, which threw us into greatest dismay and made the day one never to be forgotten by us.

On the afternoon of this day, seven wild Indians with faces painted black came to us and took our last remaining brother Joshua away by force. The reason for this, according to them, was this: The Indians had resolved to abolish poison and all sorcery among them, as we mentioned in our record of February. To this end the young people had banded together, deposed their chiefs, and at the instigation of the heathen teacher guarded those who had come together as captives, especially the older people, and appointed a great day on which to sit in judgment upon all who were suspected of dealing out poison. These suspects were to be brought to confess through fire. Old Chief Tedpachsit was the first one whom they accused of having poison with which he had brought about the death of many Indians. When the poor old man would not confess, they bound him to stakes and actually began to burn him. In his distress he said he had stored poison in our Indian Br. Joshua's house. This was what they desired to hear, for it gave them a pretext to draw our poor Joshua into their terrible upheaval. They had called him a number of times before this but he had not gone, answering that he was a believer and had nothing to do with their matter; that they should do what they pleased but that they should let us alone. But the savages were not satisfied and were only too happy to get him in their midst through deceit and, as mentioned before, took him away by force so that he might tell Chief Tedpachsit to his face that he had nothing like that in his house, after which he might return home. In spite of everything, Joshua had to go with the savages to the Indians gathered at Woapicamikunk. And now we were quite alone with our Sr. Theresa. As mentioned in the record of February, the recently baptized Hannah had been impelled by fear and superstition to go to the assembled savages. How we felt under the circumstances cannot be described, especially so, because we could not tell what their object really was in regard to our poor Joshua. In our trouble we prayed to God our Saviour that He should have mercy upon us and upon our poor Joshua who was in the hands of the wild ones. In this time of trouble the text for the day was a great comfort to us.

15th. At last an Indian from Woapicamikunk came and told us that when Joshua was led before the old Chief and declared to him that his statement had been false, the old Chief confessed that he had lied from fear, in order to quiet somewhat the wrought-up savages; that he knew well enough that he had nothing of the kind and much less had he anything stored in Joshua's house. Joshua was then declared free of the charge, but they would not allow him to return home on the ground that he had to wait until their prophet, the Schawano, had arrived.

N. B. This Schawano is the greatest teacher among the savages because he not only pretends to have had visions of God who had told him how the Indians should live, but also to have been given the power to know all that is concealed and to uncover even the thoughts of people; he pretends that he can look into a man's heart as well as into his face, and knows all that is going on in it. He lays claim to many other foolish things.

This fellow, a well-known evildoer, was to tell the Delaware nation, who among the people had poison or possessed the unallowed gift of sorcery to bring about the death of Indians. They made it very easy for the arch-deceiver. They were so full of their superstition that they would tell him beforehand whom they suspected. This instrument of the Devil had nothing to do but to confirm their suspicions, then they were satisfied because it was in accordance with their own ideas. For this reason we were quite uncertain how poor Joshua would fare, for the visiting Indian's report did not set our hearts at rest. We were therefore very glad when, on the afternoon of the 16th, a well-known Indian arrived who could talk English fluently and who had not gone to the assembled savages. Imagine our horror when we heard that the expected Schawano had come to the assembled Indians the day before. All Indians of both sexes formed a circle about this miscreant so that he might point out those who had poison or other supernatural gifts which relate to their superstition. After a great many ceremonies he accused a number of having poison with which they brought about the death of Indians in all sorts of ways. The two old chiefs, Tedpachsit and Hackingpomska, were accused of having poison, the first named being especially charged with the death of a large number of Indians.[2] When they asked him about our Joshua, plainly showing him their suspicion, this instrument of the Devil said that Joshua had no poison, that was certain, but that he had an evil spirit in him by means of which he could bring about the death of Indians. Now they had heard what they desired. The wild young people took all these unjustly condemned captives and guarded them closely. We also heard that the raging savages had burned alive an old woman named Caritas,[3] who had been baptized by the Brethren in olden times, and that our poor Joshua was likewise a captive. How we felt when we heard this sad news may be better imagined than described. Although we had been told that they would not murder him, we had no rest day or night and from anxiety we could neither eat nor sleep, because we distrusted the superstition and rage of the wild ones, especially so because we know that they hate the believing Indians.

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[2] When the Delawares turned upon their chiefs they were but following the example of other Indian tribes settled about the Wabash. "Their Chiefs and their nearest relations fall under the strokes of their tomahawks & Knives. This has been so much the case with the three Tribes nearest us—the Peankashaws, Weas, & Eel River Miamis that there is scarcely a Chief to be found amongst them." Harrison to Secretary of War, July 15, 1801. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:29.

17th. Our worry and perplexity over the fate of our Joshua increased. We were overcome with terror and fright when all of a sudden we saw ten Indians with their faces painted black, some on foot, others on horseback, coming into our village with old Chief Tedpachsit. Soon after these barbarians built a large fire near our place, struck the old Chief on the head with the hatchet and threw him half-alive into the fire. Meanwhile they stood near and rejoiced over the pitiful cries and movements of the unfortunate one. The plain south of our village and the woods caught fire so that our village was full of smoke and fumes. Our feelings under this trial cannot be described.[4] We realized that we were in the midst of a band of murderers, without human help, and all the while were tortured by the uncertain fate of our poor Br. Joshua.

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[3] Heckewelder writes of Ann Charity, or Caritas, that she was "an aged woman, who from a child lived in the congregation, until the dispersion of the Christian Indians, in the spring of 1782, when she was taken by her heathen relations, to the White river, to be out of the way of the murdering gang of the white people, who had destroyed so many of their relations already. . . . This woman, having been, while a child, placed in the family of the missionary Youngman, and brought up to all manner of labour in the house, belonging to women, she was particularly noticed, as an active industrious woman, and admired for her cleanliness, both in dress and in household affairs." *Narrative,* 415-16. See also C. H. Mitchener, *Historic Events in the Tuscarawas and Muskingum Valleys* . . . (Dayton, 1876), 173.

[4] According to Luckenbach, the missionaries did not know of this crime until the Indians came to the Kluge home and boasted of it. Tetepachsit's son struck the fatal blow. *Post,* 622.

After the murder the monsters, quite wild, came into the house, boasted of the awful deed, put on a hypocritical front and demanded something to eat and tobacco to smoke. We gladly gave them both so as to get rid of them. We summoned up courage as well as we could and asked what had become of our Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him of their abominable superstition and said that it was not for nothing that he was a prisoner; that they knew full well that he was familiar with the black art and could destroy the lives of Indians or cause them to become lame; that he merely pretended to be a believer of our teaching, etc. We did our best to show them that their charge was groundless, but in vain. To calm us, they assured us that they would not put him to death. We therefore sent with them a message to the captain of the savages admonishing them to be careful what they should do and saying that Joshua was an old believer and had nothing to do with the things they accused him of, for he belonged to God and had nothing to do with the works of the Devil, that in addition to this he was a Mohican, and as they well knew had come with us as our interpreter; that we requested therefore that they should release him at once, for what they did to him they might consider as being done to us, etc. Here again the hypocrisy of the savages becomes apparent. Though they knew that Joshua was murdered the same day (we learned of it afterwards), they never said a word about it and promised to deliver our message. They left with wild yells.

After we were once more alone, we were overcome with such a feeling of sadness that all of us burst out in loud crying. Throwing ourselves on our knees we prayed to our dear Saviour for strength to yield ourselves wholly to His will and that He should take us and our poor Joshua under His powerful protection. We laid our souls, and that of our poor Joshua especially, upon His faithful heart, and prayed that He should grant us the necessary strength to remain faithful unto death, should it be His will that both we and Joshua should lose our lives at the hands of the savages. We shall never forget how we felt in that terrible hour.

Though we had heard that the savages suspected us and all teachers of the believing Indians of taking away the poison of all Indians who were converted, and of keeping it so that white teachers might use it to put the Indians to death or make them sick if they would not do as they were told, and though, for this reason, we could not know to what the Devil might lead them and what our fate would be in consequence, especially since the savages had threatened to put to death anyone who should say the least against their actions, the burden of our hearts led us to resolve that we would make a speech to the assembled wild ones. Our hope was that we might do something toward having Joshua released, or, if that were impossible, at least talk with him once more. This we were ready to do even though we should have to suffer for it. Since it was impossible for us to leave Sr. Kluge all alone with the children under such circumstances, Br. Luckenbach felt it his duty to go alone. His object was to look up a French trader on the way and take him along.

18th. With high courage he left here early in the morning. He had hardly gone half way when he was met by an Indian who gave him the terrible news that, on the day before, our poor Joshua had become a victim of their cruelty. They likewise had struck the hatchet into his head two times and then burned him. With this terrible news Br. Luckenbach came back in the afternoon. This was the severest blow that could be given us. We were filled with terror and the horror of it all robbed us of all thought. We could do nothing but sigh and weep. As soon as we recovered somewhat our first thought was to sell everything and flee from here to Goshen as soon as possible. All preparations had been made when cold weather set in and put the difficult journey, on account of the children, out of the question, for the time being. After several days we heard that Joshua had said a great deal at the place of murder that the savages could not understand. It is quite likely that he prayed to the Saviour in German, for he was in an encouraging state of heart when the savages took him away. On the 22d we also heard that the wild ones had thrown our poor Joshua into a terribly large fire, which they constantly replenished, but that Joshua's body had been hardly singed after two hours. This made them all the more savage, consequently they built a still hotter fire but even then his body was not burned to ashes before the following morning.

23d. A French trader sent a man to us to inform us that the Indians had told him to tell us that they would not hurt us, but that we should go away from here as soon as possible. This report frightened us not a little at first, at the same time we did not feel like leaving our post in such haste without having heard direct from the Indians themselves. We do not doubt in the least that the wild ones would rather have us away from here than to have us stay among them, for we are to them, with the Word of God, a burden and a thorn in their eyes. But we resolved to go to them to inquire whether they really meant what they said in their message to us through the Frenchman mentioned above; [we would say] that we wanted to hear direct from them, because they, the chiefs, had invited us to come here. As soon as we should hear this from them, then we would believe and would gladly leave here, for it depended on them whether they wanted us here any longer with the Word of God; we had no desire to force ourselves on them, because, as they knew, we had no other object in view than to be of service to them and bring them salvation, etc. With these words Br. Luckenbach rode away on the 25th to learn what the savages had to say. They did not want to admit that they had tried to send us away, at the same time they said, "You can go whenever you please; we do not need you here. In olden times the Indians did not know how to live aright, but now we ourselves know how to live and need no one to teach us. None of us will come to hear your Word, for you are white people and we are Indians. You have another color than we, also another teaching; your teaching is good for white people but not for us. But if you want to remain anyway, you may do so. We will not tell you to go away, neither will we ask you to remain. You can do as you please, and we will do as we please."[5] With this answer Br. Luckenbach returned on the 26th. From this we could see clearly that they were setting us aside entirely and that we could expect no protection from them.

27th. On this and the following days we continued to hear of all sorts of the most terrible murders and burnings. All the more we took refuge with the Saviour who in this sad time was our only comfort. Oh, if He had not been our comfort we would have died in our terrible affliction! It was especially hard for Sr. Kluge. She passed the days and nights in constant fear and anguish. Her mind suffered from the shock of the terrible experiences and her heart was filled with terror. Our dear brethren can easily imagine how we must have felt under the circumstances, especially so when they remember that at the time we were quite alone in the midst of a wholly unrestrained wild people, who burned and murdered their own people, and who no longer listened to anybody. All our days are passed in terror and anguish, and we are quite worn out in body and soul, so that we hardly know what to do.

30th. At our family worship we began the reading of the history of our Lord and Saviour's suffering which brought real comfort to our afflicted hearts. We continued with this reading the following days of the week. Herewith we send greetings to our dear brethren in the congregations and especially to the dear brethren of the Helpers'

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[5] Luckenbach in his Autobiography states that after he had appeared before the council he was sent for further advice to Hackinkpomska, who, although a prisoner, still retained his office. The Chief supported the council in its view that the Indians no longer needed the help of white teachers. See *post*, 624.

Conference. We commend ourselves and our post to their prayers and petitions to our dear Lord and Saviour.

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

SECOND QUARTER

April 1. We heard again that the savages had taken one of their numbers, a peaceable Indian, hacked him to pieces and burned him up, and that 7 others were held as prisoners. The general supposition is that these will meet a similar fate.

Monday-Thursday, the 3d. Not having any Communion wine, it was impossible to have the celebration of the Lord's Supper, for which we were very sorry. We united in spirit with our dear brethren in the congregations and quietly observed this and the holy Easter festival days to the blessing of our afflicted hearts in our present condition.

We told our one remaining Indian Sr. Theresa, who does not understand the Delaware, the great and saving history of the suffering, death, and resurrection, of our Lord and Saviour. Her husband acted as interpreter. She appreciated this very highly and the way it seemed, a deep impression was made upon her.

9th and 10th. We heard that the savages were about to put to death their last remaining chief, old Hockingpomsga, besides the Chief of the Nanticokes and 6 other Indians of both sexes, and burn them. Just as they laid hands on the unfortunate victim, the friends of the Chief took their weapons, sprang in the midst of the people and threatened to kill anyone who should take part in this murder. This put a check on further slaughter. Nevertheless, those who had been set apart for the brutal sacrifice did not feel themselves safe before the rage of the young people. For this reason the most well-to-do among them secretly sent the Indian teacher or lying prophet several hundred strings of wampum, besides gifts of silver and cows, with the request that their lives might be spared. This pleased the instruments of the Devil. The result was that the unfortunate victims who had been condemned to death were released under all sorts of pretexts. It was announced that they had bought their release as prisoners.

12th. A respectable Indian came here and visited us. This man said it would be most fortunate if the Indians should not begin any drunken sprees this summer. But if they should bring whisky and have their usual summer debauchery, we would witness what we had never seen before. In that event many would lose their lives, because the wild young people would be sure to carry out that from which they had been held back for the time being.

13th. We passed the day quietly, for we could have no public service both from lack of an interpreter and hearers. The heathen no longer care to hear anything of the Word of God. Yes, it has come so far that they immediately fly into a rage when one tells them that they are not on the right path and should be converted to the Saviour of mankind, and forsake all their evil ways. For the time being we can do nothing more than pray, weep, and debate what should be done further.

14th. Br. Luckenbach left for Cincinnati to post our letters to our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference and to get some articles of clothing which have been delayed two years. We believe that these might after all have reached Mr. Ziegler.

15th and 16th. We heard that there was a famine among the assembled Indians in Woapicamikunk. On this account they intend to have a sacrificial festival and pass a number of nights and days with dancing.[6] With this, their supposed worship of God is to be brought to a close.

18th. Two white men passed through here with a letter from Governor Harrison of Vincennes for the

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[6] The shorter Diary reads, "On this account they will not have any sacrificial feasts when they dance for several days and nights, which is the end of their so-called religious rites."

Indians. As we understand, the Governor's letter contains an admonition and a reprimand for the present evil behavior of the Indians, especially for the murders committed among them.[7] The Indians however received this reprimand with poor grace, and answered the communication briefly and with indifference.

19th. Two heathen Indian families and an old negro with his sister moved into our village, and unasked, they took possession of the murdered Joshua's house. They declared that the house belonged to them now and that they would also plant his field. Such things we have to put up with. Every heathen is a law unto himself. They know that we have no one to protect us and they are not the least afraid of us. They do not ask whether we like it or not.

20th. Many of the Indians who had been assembled in Woapicamikunk passed through our village. They were almost starved and complained that they had not eaten anything for two days. It was quite a predicament: everybody begged us for something to eat and yet it was impossible to satisfy all. We had barely enough for ourselves, but we shared with them as much as possible. The worst of it is that this begging has no end. If we tell them we have no more to give, they do not believe us and even become angry about it. The most shameless of them would not hesitate to take one's last mouthful. We were compelled to eat in secret as much as possible. At present 4 ears of corn cost one dollar. This great famine they have brought upon themselves through their own wickedness and by listening to the foolish teacher and liar. In the midst of the best hunting season they all came home and assembled at Woapicamikunk, whither they dragged their little bit of corn and consumed it in laziness and lawlessness. Now hunger has driven them apart and they are in greatest distress. One might think that their eyes would be opened now, that they must realize their pitiful condition and see that they are just as much the slaves of sin as before, but this is not the case. They sooner boast of their foolish teaching and the terrible deception which led them to burn and to murder, and flatter themselves that they are now on the right path and that they are better people than ever before. And all this because they have brought it so far that they pretend to greet one another, saying, "I thank God that it is evening or morning, and that I am alive." In their estimation this is sufficient and well pleasing in the sight of God. For the rest a man may do what he pleases: if he makes this speech, he is a good Indian. For this reason the true and saving Word of the cross finds no acceptance: they consider it foolishness. It is astonishing how the Devil has deceived this people so that they are unable to see the clear light of the gospel.

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[7] In an effort to check the terrible witchcraft delusion among the Indians Harrison sent them an address denouncing the Prophet and his pretended powers and their conduct in putting so many to death. Among other things he declared:

"My children, tread back the steps you have taken, and endeavor to regain the straight road which you have abandoned. The dark, crooked and thorny one which you are now pursuing will certainly lead to endless woe and misery. But who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator? Examine him. . . . If he is really a prophet, ask of him to cause the sun to stand still—the moon to alter its course—the rivers to cease to flow—or the dead to rise from their graves . . . .

"*My children!* do not believe that the great and good Creator of mankind has directed you to destroy your own flesh; and do not doubt but that, if you pursue this abominable wickedness, his vengeance will overtake and crush you." Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:183.

21st. The Chief of the Twechtowe nation came to our village and visited in our house. Being conversant with the Delaware, Br. Kluge made use of this opportunity to preach the Word of God to him. He told him why we had come here and asked him if he would not like to see us settle about a day's journey from this place and begin a small town on their land. This would enable his young people to hear the Word of God and they could move to us. The Chief answered, "I can tell you nothing at present. I come from the woods and am now on my way home, because my young people have called me. I will have a great deal of work for I hear that the Kickapoos have again killed one of my people. My warriors want to go to war against that nation. I have no love for war and will do my best to comfort my people. After I have done that, I may come to this place again, in which case I will hear you further." Having said this he took leave of us and went to his camp in the woods two miles from here.

23d. We heard the Twechtowe Chief had a quantity of whisky in his camp, and that one of those who had recently moved here without asking our permission and one of the Cherokees resident in our village had gone there to drink. This was very unpleasant news for we expect trouble in our village as a result.

24th. This evening the anticipated disturbance arose. After we had retired for the night the drunken Cherokee family came into our village and set up a terrible nuisance. Not knowing what they might be called upon to pass through, Br. and Sr. Kluge, who were alone, kept constant watch and never slept a wink all night. We were heartily glad that God preserved us from danger in the midst of this unpleasant disturbance and we thanked Him fervently for His protection.

25th. One of the heathen living here came home with a burned hand. While drunk he had fallen into the fire and burned his hand badly.

26th. This afternoon Br. Luckenbach returned safe and sound from his journey to Cincinnati. The object of his journey was not attained, for the long-expected and sadly needed articles of clothing were not found with Mr. Ziegler. Believing that we would surely receive these this spring we bought only what was most urgently needed, in Mr. Ziegler's store. Even then it entailed a great outlay of money because everything is very expensive in Cincinnati. For this reason we are all the more sorry that the articles of clothing ordered take so long in coming. We are often sadly in need of clothing, especially shirts. These are sorely needed. Even though we should buy the linen here, Sr. Kluge with all her other work would simply find no time to make them. She has enough to do by taking care of the children without making shirts for us all. This anyone may readily imagine, for she is the only woman and therefore without assistance.

27th. We privately proclaimed the suffering of the Saviour to our last remaining Indian, Sr. Theresa. This, as it seems, always proves a blessing to her. Hannah, whom we baptized last Christmas, unfortunately proved untrue to the faith. From fear she went among the heathen and denied the Saviour. She was afraid to suffer for Him. She loved the praise of these poor slaves of sin more than the praise of God. At the same time we look upon her with pity and patience, pray to the dear Saviour for her and cherish the heartfelt wish that she may soon see her sad condition and seek, as a truly penitent sinner, grace and forgiveness with the Saviour for her unfaithfulness, in which case we will once more be comforted as far as she is concerned.

28th. On this and the days following we had a great deal of rain. The White River rose unusually high so that we feared that our fields would be flooded. To our great joy we had pleasant weather in good time, whereupon the water fell as quickly as it rose and the expected flood was averted. For this we expressed our heartfelt thanks to our dear Lord.

May 1. A Twechtowe Indian and his wife came here. He is a near relative of our Indian Sr. Theresa. His object was to visit a while with his friend and also, as he said, to make use of this opportunity to hear the Great Word which his friend had found here. For this reason Br. Kluge talked with him several times in the presence of our Sr. Theresa and her husband, the frequently mentioned Frenchman, who acted as our Twechtowe interpreter, about the Saviour's love for sinners. He told him very plainly what the Saviour had done for poor lost mankind to deliver us from the power of Satan, so that all who would accept these glad tidings and believe with all their heart in His suffering and dying and yield themselves to Jesus might not be lost but receive the forgiveness of sins and have eternal life. The Indian listened attentively. At last he said, "These are great words. I believe that it is true as you declared it." This was emphasized by his friend, Sr. Theresa.

4th. Br. Kluge talked again with the above-mentioned Twechtowe Indian, the occasion being Sunday, the day on which we instruct Sr. Theresa in the Word of God. The Indian referred to said that he was no bad man; that he had no love for drinking, stealing, killing, and other sins of the Indians. In this he was confirmed by the old Frenchman, who sought to give us a good opinion of this Indian.

We tried to make it clear to him that all this was well enough and the duty of everybody, but that we could not earn for ourselves the grace of God and eternal life, and that our not believing on the Lord and Saviour was the greatest sin. Furthermore, the Indian told us that he had no poison and had never had other bad things in his possession. All that he had, he said, was a good medicine for the deer and bear chase, and a small leather pouch which he had inherited from his grandfather, who had been a famous warrior. When his grandfather as captain went forth to war he always carried with him some tobacco and a good medicine for those who were shot or stabbed; these he tied to a stick and carried them in front of him. "If I should become a believer," he continued, "I would gladly give up everything save this small pouch; that I should like to keep always." We assured him that if he would once be in dead earnest, surrender himself with all his heart to God his Creator and Saviour, he would be willing to put aside everything displeasing in the sight of God, etc.

6th. On this and following days, weather permitting, we were busy in our garden and weeding our corn.

8th and 9th. A large number of Indians visited us.

Their object was nothing else than to beg or to borrow something to eat. We told them that what we had, we had to buy at a high price or work hard so as to provide ourselves with the necessities of life, and consequently had no more than we needed. Nevertheless we gave them as much milk as we could spare so as to retain their good will. These poor people have no judgment at all. They do not care whether one can help them or not. Although it is as clear as day that their laziness and poor management are at the bottom of their trouble, they still think that those who have something are in duty bound to share with them. When they are refused they become very angry. We made use of this opportunity to talk to them about the Word of God, but for this, alas, they had no ear, as usual.

10th. In the evening, with our Indian Sr. Theresa, we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion. The Saviour was very near unto us and comforted our poor needy hearts.

11th. Br. Luckenbach talked with an Indian who lives here. He had frequently conversed with him before, for he speaks English fluently. This man was baptized as a child by the Presbyterians and received the name of Joshua. His father was a brother of Captain Pipe, well known in mission history. This Indian spent most of his youth among white people, especially in time of war. At that time he was in the service of the English. He claims to have carried off, on pack horses, the things belonging to the missionaries on the Muskingum when the congregation at Gnadenhütten had to be given up and the members were led away. He consequently knows the missionaries very well and is not unacquainted with the Word of God. He tells a great deal of what he learned in the school at Lancaster. Unfortunately, he has added to his knowledge of Indian sins the knowledge of the white man's sins, as his talk and conduct clearly prove. With this rough man Br. Luckenbach talked about the Word of God, reminded him of his baptism and of the grace he thereby received, told him of the love of Jesus for sinners, and urged him to renew his baptismal covenant with God, and begged him not to live his whole lifetime as a heathen, etc.

To this he answered, "I do not consider myself a Christian. I believe it is something difficult to be a Christian and live as such." He was told that it was not difficult for one who no longer wanted to be the slave of sin but desired to become the child of God; that it appeared to be hard to such only as loved that which was evil. At present we have nothing but heathen in our village. These have come here wholly against our will. The sad part of it all is that these people have no desire nor appetite for the Word of God. They naturally disregard our rules and regulations and live like heathen, each one doing as he pleases. For this reason we are all the more troubled with bad people because these who are here attract that kind.

12th. A white trader from Fort Hamilton came here with flour. This gave us opportunity to buy what we had to have. The price of flour is 5 dollars per hundred.

Ascension Day, the 15th. We recalled the sacred event of our Lord and Saviour's ascension in a meeting with our Indian Sr. Theresa, read the history thereof, and joined ourselves in spirit with the dear brethren of our congregations, knelt in prayer and thanked the dear Lord and Saviour for His terrible suffering and dying, resurrection and ascension, and all for our eternal salvation; we thanked Him that we too were able to rejoice in this favor, and prayed that He should keep us ever poor in spirit and close to His precious wounds, so that we might daily enjoy the precious redemption which He wrought. Our dear Lord graciously revealed Himself to us, His poor servants, in our loneliness, and comforted our hearts with His presence.

16th. We began corn planting.

17th. Thomas White-eyes, who came here from Goshen last fall, returned from the chase and brought to the heathen living two miles from here, 20 gallons of whisky. Although the Indians had decided in their gatherings at Woapicamikunk that no one would be allowed to bring whisky to this neighborhood and begin a spree, and that they would smash the barrels of this destructive beverage should any be brought here, this was done without protest. It is evident that they do not intend to keep their word. Instead of breaking the barrels they all gathered around them and drank for days and nights until the last drop was gone. At the beginning of this spree, as is generally the case, a quarrel arose among them, with the result that one was shot to death and another had a hatchet buried in his head, though this one escaped with his life.

Their Chief took flight and came to us. He said that he could not do anything with the young people; that they would not listen to what he told them. Thomas White Eyes who has lived among the heathen since his coming here from Goshen, who has taken unto himself a heathen wife, who has spent his time in the woods and among white people, has led a terrible life, yes, right in our very presence, acting worse than a heathen so that the heathen themselves complained,—he is the cause of the awful spree and guilty of the murder because he provided the occasion, and would not listen to the chiefs of the savages. Consequently he has brought disgrace on the believing Indians in Goshen and brought reproach to all believers and to the cause of God. He is not worthy the name of a baptized person and we heartily wish he had never come here.

18th. Instead of preaching a sermon, we read an address translated into Indian. Though we have few hearers, there being no more than two or three present at any time, we do not want to drop the public services, difficult as it is for us to make an Indian address without the assistance of an interpreter.

19th. We finished corn planting.

21st. We had another unpleasant excitement in our village. In the forenoon, a number of drunken savages, Thomas White Eyes among them, with horridly painted faces, came on horseback into our village with a wild yell. They were entirely devoid of clothing. Thomas White Eyes and another savage, while on horseback, tore open the gate of the fence about the house, and because the house door was open they tried to ride right into the room of Br. and Sr. Kluge. It took the greatest effort to keep them from doing this. Finally they rode to the house of the Cherokee family living in our midst, dismounted and began to drink. As soon as we saw this, we knew that they had evil intentions. Because Br. and Sr. Kluge's children were terribly frightened, too, we immediately picked them up and fled to our sugar camp in the woods in order that we might be out of the way of the raging and drunken savages. Br. Luckenbach, who had stayed behind to lock up, was discovered by the drunken savages. The wildest of them came to him immediately and demanded something to eat. Br. Luckenbach gave him some milk, but this did not satisfy him. He repeated his demands. At last he wanted to force Br. Luckenbach to come with him where the whisky drinking was at its height. When he refused, the savage took a hatchet and threatened to bury it in his head, if he would not do at once as he was told. Br. Luckenbach had no other way but to go where the drunken savages were. These were in the house of one of our Indians. At last he succeeded in getting away from the drunken rabble, and followed Br. and Sr. Kluge into the woods.[8]

After the drunken savages had calmed down in our village and returned home toward evening, we came back to our houses, satisfied our hunger (we had no time to take anything to eat to the woods), and thanked God that we were protected from further injury.

The following should be recorded in connection with the 17th. When the new chief mentioned under the date referred to, visited us, we entertained him in the most friendly fashion. At the same time we made use of the opportunity to remind him of the promise of his forefathers, the former chiefs who invited us to come here. We repeated that promise verbally, reminded him too of his duty to back up this promise made by the old chiefs, and protect us against the wild young savages, forbid all disorder so that we might remain undisturbed by drunken Indians, etc.

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[8] Luckenbach in his Autobiography credits Thomas White Eyes with protecting him and giving him freedom. See *post*, 626.

The Chief answered and said, "What you say is true. I know that they promised you all this, namely, that you should be allowed to live here undisturbed and in peace. I do not like the evil conduct of the young people at all, neither do I like to see whisky brought here, for I heard my grandfather tell that if anyone should die while drunk he would go straight to the Devil. I often talk to my people about it but they will not listen. If any of them come here and worry you, you must not think that they do it with my consent, but that they do it of their own accord because they will not obey me." This shows us plainly again, as we have seen long ago, that we cannot depend at all on the protection of the chiefs because they themselves are afraid of their own people.

23d. Without thinking of first asking permission, Thomas White Eyes came here, bag and baggage, to live with his sister, who is also a wicked person and one who came here without asking our leave. Sorry as we were to see it, we could do nothing to prevent it, for we have not so much as one Indian brother to fall back on.

Whitsunday, the 25th. Instead of a sermon Br. Kluge conducted a meeting in which, on bended knee, we prayed God, the Holy Spirit, for forgiveness where we failed to obey His voice in our hearts and so grieved Him. We besought Jesus graciously to have patience with us and stay with us so that our life and work might bring honor and glory to the name of our Lord and Saviour.

27th. We heard that the deception of the lying prophet was becoming apparent. For this reason one does not hear so much about their visions or appearances. It is quite likely that their shameless lies will get them into trouble and they will receive their deserved reward. It is astonishing how much injury these instruments of the Devil wrought among the Indians. At present their heads are so full of foolish things that they really do not know what to believe. However, superstition keeps the upper hand. They do not care to hear the saving Word of God. This unfortunately is regarded by them as a fable.

29th. In the afternoon the children of Br. and Sr. Kluge discovered a large copperhead in front of the house. Br. Luckenbach, who fortunately happened to be near by, heard their cry and killed the snake. We were very grateful and thanked God for the protection of our children that they were not bitten by this large poisonous reptile. The Indians tell us that the bite of this snake is especially poisonous.

30th and 31st. We were busy weeding our cornfield.

June 1. At the hour for preaching Br. Luckenbach read one of our translations on the words, "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, I will give you rest." In the making of this translation our lamented interpreter assisted us. In the afternoon we gave our Indian Sr. Theresa private instruction, as we always do on a Sunday. On the 2d and following days we were busy in the cornfield.

3d. Thomas White Eyes, of whom mention was made last month, left with his whole family for the chase. We were only too happy to see them go. We will be rid of these troublesome people for a while at least.

5th. A white trader from Fort Hamilton came here with flour and salt. We were glad to see him because this gave us opportunity once again to purchase salt. We bought five pounds for five dollars, which is the price in this part of the country. If bought by the quart the traders charge a dollar a quart. This man, to our great joy, brought us from Mr. Ziegler a letter from our dear

Br. Loskiel, with an enclosed monthly report of the Helpers' Conference. We were only sorry that we never heard a word concerning the articles of clothing which were ordered so long ago. The lack of these causes us the greatest inconvenience.

8th. At the usual hour Br. Kluge preached the sermon, or rather read an address on I John 2:15. It was an old Indian translation with which our interpreter Joshua had assisted us. At the close of the address, he admonished his few hearers to give faithful heed to what they had heard and be not only hearers but doers of God's great Word.

10th. We finished hoeing our corn. For this we were glad. We would now like to see a good refreshing rain, which our crops need very much.

12th. A well-known Indian visited us and told us that some of the Indians now realized that the Schawano had deceived them; that some of them were quite worked up over it, because they blamed him that so many Indians were put to death and that many others came so near losing their lives. The Indian said, "I also heard the Schawano teacher three times, but could in no wise detect anything in what he taught to convince me of the truth of his teaching. Much less could I believe that his words came from God." He recalled having heard Joshua speak about the Word of God and confessed that that pleased him far more, and he had frequently thought that what the believers taught might be the truth. This afforded us further opportunity to preach the gospel to this Indian and to tell him that in the sacrifice of Jesus alone could the world find grace and deliverance from all sin. After that he took friendly leave of us, promising to give the matter careful thought.

13th. The old Frenchman, Indian Sr. Theresa's husband, told Br. Luckenbach that the wife of the Twechtowe, who is a relative of his wife, had been deeply impressed by what she had heard the evening before concerning the sufferings of the Saviour for the sins of mankind, and had dreamed during the night that she had seen the Saviour with His wounds and that He had told her that all she had heard concerning Him was true and that He had also suffered for her. This gave us an opportunity to tell this person, with warm hearts, of the greatness and importance of the suffering of our Lord and Saviour. We have frequently noticed that the Spirit of God is striving with the lost hearts of the heathen, but unfortunately these poor slaves of sin have thus far striven against this gracious work of the Spirit of God with their hearts, setting their minds at rest with all sorts of heathen lies, so that superstition always keeps the upper hand and they are kept from being saved from their sins and continue in their sinful sleep. This is very discouraging and causes us much perplexity.

15th. Br. Luckenbach conducted the preaching service. He read an Indian translation to his hearers. At the conclusion of it he urged them to give faithful heed to what they had heard and diligently ponder the Word of God in their hearts.

16th. Hay making was begun. The weather was most favorable.

18th. and following days we were busy making hay. This, as well as all field work, is hard for us, not being used to it. It is impossible to hire anyone for even a few days, and should we be able to secure someone we would have to pay him a dollar a day, which is extraordinarily high. For this reason we struggle along as best we can without help. The Frenchmen living among the Indians, whom one may sometimes hire, do not work half as much in a day as a Pennsylvania day laborer would.

20th. We talked with our one remaining communicant, Indian Sr. Theresa, in preparation for the approaching Holy Communion. We were very happy over her heart's condition. She is conscious of her poverty of spirit and faithfully trusts the Saviour.

21st. Seeing that a rain threatened, we were busy stacking the hay made this week. We were done before the rain came. We made and stacked about a ton of hay this week.

Circumstances not permitting the celebration of the Holy Communion this evening, it was postponed until the following evening, when we observed it to the strengthening of our faith and the quickening of our hearts. The dear Saviour graciously manifested Himself to us in our loneliness and gave us His peace. In the afternoon, (the 22d) Br. Kluge read an Indian address. He related quite simply the story of the suffering of our dear Lord and Saviour and all that He had done for our sins, in order to deliver us from the power of the Devil.

This is our method now because we have no interpreter. We do not trust ourselves to go too far in our Indian preaching of the Word of God. We fear that we have not as yet mastered the Indian language sufficiently to explain the Word properly. For this reason we go slowly and for the present limit ourselves to the history of our Lord and Saviour's suffering. This we can translate into Indian the easiest. At the same time we pray God our Saviour to be with us in our impotence and bless our poor witness of His precious atonement to the hearts of all who hear, so that they may realize what His love has done for sinners.

23d. In the evening we had the thanksgiving liturgy.

24th. We remembered the festival of the boys in the congregations and wished for them the great blessing of our Lord and Saviour, the friend of children, both in soul and body.

25th. We were busy with hay making again.

26th. We set half a ton of hay on a stack, which finished our haymaking for this year. We are glad this work is done.

27th. We weeded our garden. We have our hands full every day. Should we not work as hard as we do, we should suffer want. We are very grateful to the dear Saviour when we are in good health so that we can help one another. In this way our terribly hard lot is made that much easier.

28th. The Indian chief living three miles from us sent an Indian to us with the request that we should come to him and read a letter which he had received from Fort Wayne. Br. Luckenbach went and returned again in the afternoon. The letter did not amount to much. It merely stated that the Indians should come to Fort Wayne for their annual present from the Government. This year it is to consist for the most part of money.

29th. Br. Luckenbach conducted a meeting, which was attended by us and the heathen in our village. There was also present a woman from a heathen town.

THIRD QUARTER

July 1. Kiktowink, the Indian chief who lives in the Indian town three miles from here passed through our village with some of his people. They would not stop, however. In passing they told the Indians living here that they were on their way to Fort Wayne for their annual presents to bring them to the towns for distribution among the Indians.

3d. We had a fruitful rain. It began to fall in the morning, continued throughout the whole day and the following night. We were very glad for it. Our corn and other vegetables were thereby greatly refreshed.

4th. We learned that the heathen living in our village were secretly the greatest enemies of the Word of God and of the believing Indians and their teachers and do all they can to hurt these when the heathen visit them. To this end they use all sorts of lies. For example, they lay the murder of the Christian Indians in Gnadenhütten to the charge of the missionaries of that day and slander us and the regulations of the believing Indians. Because we are aware of the slander of these instruments of the Devil, we will not give them the satisfaction of trying to defend ourselves against their lies. That is what they would like. But we keep quiet and tell Him who has all power in heaven and on earth. He is able to defend us. We remember to our great comfort that our Lord and Saviour did not fare any better in spite of the fact that He was holy and without sin.

We recently had a talk with some of these people. The occasion was this: A heathen woman was here on a visit and in our presence she and the other heathen then in our midst expressed their regret that it was so dry just at a time when all the young men who understood so well how to make it rain were away from home. The mother of one of the heathen families boasted of her son's power to make it rain. We could contain ourselves no longer and asked them who had given the young people this power. The woman answered that they had good brooms with which to make it rain; that when it thundered small bullets fell from the clouds and broke down houses and trees; that anyone who would find such a bullet and keep it in his possession could make rain. We showed them how groundless and foolish their belief was and told them that God alone, who had created all things and preserved them, could make it rain and could grant fruitful seasons; that no one else had such power, and that it was our duty to ask Him, the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for rain, and thank Him alone for all good things; that anyone who pretended to be able to make it rain and those who believed such foolishness, blasphemed, etc.

The poor superstitious woman disputed with us for a long time because it was against the interests of her son and stoutly contended that the Indians could make it rain. At last, when she saw that the visiting heathen agreed with us, she gave in and pretended to agree with us, too. Hardly had we left the house when she laughingly repeated our words and boasted that her son was the best rain maker anywhere. It is astonishing how full of superstition these poor people are. For this reason the saving Word of the Saviour's suffering is regarded by them as a fable. Sometimes they will listen to a certain extent and then say, "Those are great words, but we have not put Him to death. That was perpetrated by white people, therefore, this teaching is for them. We have another skin and consequently another teaching."

6th. Br. Kluge conducted an Indian service. An Indian and an Indian woman from another town were present. After the meeting the Indian visited us in our house. We used the opportunity of telling him of the suffering of the Saviour and made clear to him the will of God in regard to our salvation. He listened attentively but made many excuses why the Indians, and therefore he, could not become believers and accept the teaching which we declared to him, repeating that we were white people and that teachers of white people did not belong to Indians but were only for wicked white people. He assured us that every Indian nation had received from God the doctrine in accordance with which they were to live, etc. In the most kindly manner we pointed out the error of his ways and showed him that salvation was alone to be found in the sacrifice of Jesus; that in no other name was there salvation for mankind save in the name of Jesus. The Indian answered, "Granted that what you say is true, He did not die in Indian land but among the white people." When we once more told him that the Saviour had died for the sins of the Indians also, and had shed His blood for their salvation so that they, by faith, might be saved, the Indian became thoughtful and said, "The white people are more wicked than the Indians. It is true that some Indians are bad, but I am not that kind. I still remember what I heard this spring from the Indian teacher in Woapicamikunk," etc. Hereupon he took friendly leave of us, promising to think over that which we had told him, and went home.

8th. An Indian came and begged Br. Kluge to bleed him, which was done, because the Indians here do not like it when one denies them this.

10th. An Indian woman visited here. In her youth, she lived with her mother, who was baptized in Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum. We reminded her of the

Word of God which she had already heard in her youth and asked if she had no desire to hear the great Word. She told us flatly, "No! I do not want to be killed by the white people. That is what was done to my mother and many of my friends. I shall never forget it. I know full well that the white teachers were at the bottom of it." She was very bitter against the Word of God and its teachers, so that we were only too glad when the woman kept still and left. It has been our experience that those baptized Indians who live among the heathen, or those who in former times lived in the Indian congregations, are the worst enemies of the Word of God.

11th. In the evening we sang a Passion liturgy. Some of the heathen living here attended.

12th. An Indian woman and her two sons came here leading a large cow by a rope. They visited in our house. With pretended interest she inquired when it was Sunday. When we told her she said she intended to stay here for a while and attend the meetings. We saw the other day that this was far from her mind. Instead of coming to the meeting she led her cow into our village and she herself went to the heathen living in the town near by. Soon after we learned that she had come to our village with her cow because the Indians had threatened to shoot the animal because it destroyed the cornfields of the Indians. The cow also threw down our strong rail fence and went into the field. Fortunately we discovered her before she had done much harm. We told the woman if she had come here for nought else than to bring her troublesome cow into safety, she must either watch the animal or leave. This made her angry. She said she did not care if her cow did eat up our corn, etc. We were glad when we saw that this bad woman with her cow moved on. It is hard for us now, for every vagabond Indian comes to our village and does as it pleases him. They are not afraid of us because they know we have no protection. We will be very glad when we may once leave this place that has grown so unpleasant to us.

13th. Br. Luckenbach conducted a service and read an address.

16th. A number of Indians from the near-by Indian town visited here. This is almost a daily occurrence. Their object was the usual one. They wanted something to appease their hunger. When we began to talk to them about the Word of God they asked for something to eat, and frankly stated that they had come for nothing else than to satisfy their hunger. This is the case always. Everyone of these poor people seek, with us, food for the body alone. They trouble us greatly. They never think of their poor souls. They have no spiritual hunger and do not care to hear that which would bring them peace.

18th. A Fort Wayne merchant by the name of Fleming visited us. He had moved there from Pittsburg to enter into a partnership with a trader for dealing in furs. He seemed like a respectable man. We soon learned however that like all traders he was a bad man, who led the Indians still further astray.

20th. Br. Kluge led the meeting, praying a part of the church litany in Indian. He spoke about the suffering and death of our Lord and Saviour and begged the few hearers to accept the great favor brought about by the suffering and dying of Jesus and to become a reward of His sufferings, etc.

22d. Two Indians came to Br. and Sr. Kluge and complained that they were not well and begged Br. Kluge to bleed them, which he did.

23d. We were busy writing letters to our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem. When we were finished, in the afternoon of the 24th, Br. Luckenbach left with them for Cincinnati. This trip is principally made with the hope of getting a letter from the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference explaining about our long-delayed articles of clothing. We sincerely hope that both may be found at Mr. Ziegler's.

25th. In the evening an old white man came here on foot from Fort Hamilton. He asked permission to stay overnight, which was granted him. When we inquired the object of his journey, he said, "I am a poor old man and have had a great deal of misfortune in my time. I heard that at Fort Vincennes one could buy land for a dollar an acre. Still having some money which is to come to me, I want to go there and buy some land for my two sons, so that they after all may have something that they can call their own before I die. I am a Catholic; so are my two sons. Having heard that there was a Catholic priest at Fort Vincennes, I have come so far to buy land. There they have opportunities to look after their religious needs." Learning from the Indians that Fort Vincennes was still 160 miles away he lost courage and decided, the 26th, to return home again.

27th. No public service could be held because there was no one to attend.

29th. An Indian captain and a number of Indians from the near-by Indian town came to our village and began to quarrel fiercely with the old Frenchman, Indian Sr. Theresa's husband. Later the Captain came in a very angry mood into our house and threatened to take the old Frenchman's cattle and drive them away. He boasted that he could do as he pleased, because he was a Captain. In a friendly manner Br. Kluge tried to calm him and make him give up his evil intention, but he remained firm, saying, however, that he had nothing against us; that we should not mix in the matter. Thereupon he went home.

31st. A Fort Hamilton trader arrived here and told us that he had seen Br. Luckenbach in Fort Hamilton and that he had arrived there safely. We were glad to hear this. We hope to see him home soon.

August 1. We heard that the Cherokee family living here, who had also gone to Fort Hamilton for flour, had brought back with them a barrel of whisky which they intended to sell in our village. This alarmed us not a little. We know that in that case the drunken Indians will do all sorts of harm in our village. Since these disobedient Cherokees do not listen to anything we might say, but do what they please, we felt compelled this time to appeal to the Chief living in the Indian town 3 miles from here and complain to him about the Cherokees. Br. Kluge accordingly sent to the above-named Chief a piece of tobacco and the following message, "Friends! You know that the old chiefs who no longer live invited us and the believing Indians to come here, promising that no one should be allowed to bring or sell whisky in our village, and that no drunken Indians should be permitted to come near us, because the believers have no love for such things; that we should live undisturbed in our village to preach the Word of God to the Indians," etc. "You know that there are certain Indians living here against our will. These have no desire to hear the Word of God. Their one aim is to trouble us. They brought whisky here and want to have a spree. They will not listen to anything we say to them, therefore, we let you know about it with this tobacco. We look to you as we would to the old chiefs who brought us here, for you are now in their position. Smoke this tobacco and consider what you have to do." This made a good impression, really beyond all expectation, on the proud Chief. He immediately sent his son besides one of his captains to the Cherokees and commanded them to take the whisky, as soon as it came, away from our village and bring it to the lower Indian town, and if they should fail to carry out this command, the whisky would be destroyed or taken away from them.

This is the first time since our arrival that they have been willing to protect us against disorder in our village. The reason for this was evident. They wanted to drink the whisky themselves. The above-mentioned captain intimated as much. Let that be as it may, we are heartily glad that the threatened disorder and danger are thus averted and thank the Saviour for it.

2d. We had the pleasure of welcoming our Br. Luckenbach back from Cincinnati. To our great joy he brought with him precious letters from our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. We also learned to our great joy that the long-expected articles of clothing had at last reached Mr. Ziegler. Br. Luckenbach brought half of these with him. The following circumstance brought us our clothing, or it might still be in Philadelphia. A young Cincinnati merchant belonging to Mr. Ziegler's family went to Philadelphia this spring. In a store he happened to see a box addressed to us. Being acquainted with our address, he made inquiry and found that the box had been there a long time. He knew how anxiously we were awaiting our clothing, so he kindly had the box sent with his goods to Cincinnati, for which favor we thank the Lord most heartily.

The letters from the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference were read with a great deal of interest. It gave us great pleasure to learn from them the brethren's love and interest in us and our sad circumstances. This is a great comfort to us. We learned too of our call away from our present place. Greatly as we desired to leave here after all we have had to suffer, it came as a surprise to us all to hear that the Saviour had directed to give up this post. We felt very sad over it in the beginning, especially when we recalled all the struggles, trials, and tribulations, which we had to pass through during these last years. We deeply regret that the object of this mission cannot be attained, and that it has to be given up after all the heavy labors and expenses. When we thought of all this nothing comforted us but the knowledge that all was done in accordance with the gracious leading of the dear Saviour. Into His hands we commit our seedtime of tears. Our fervent hope is that there may after all come a time that the seed sown will bear fruit and the heathen who are still in the deep sleep of sin may become a reward for His sufferings.

Toward evening the Cherokees arrived with their whisky. They after all did not trust to go against the will of the Indian captain mentioned above. They did not bring it into our village but took it to the Indian town two miles from here. One of them had a bottle of whisky in his hand and led off, the others, including the heathen from our village, following. We were glad that the spree would not take place in our village, and we thanked the Saviour that He had prevented the wicked savages from carrying out their intention to trouble us.

3d. We passed the day quietly by ourselves, there being no one to hear the Word of God. Indian Sr. Theresa received her usual Sabbath instruction in the Word of God. Judging from what she says, she enjoys this instruction very much.

4th. This evening we read among ourselves a part of the recently received History of the Brethren's Church. We enjoyed it very much. The following evening we read again.

5th. We were busy writing letters to the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. Wondering how we could get these letters soonest to Cincinnati, on the 6th a trader by the name of McGanner arrived here. He told us to our great joy that he was about to send to Fort Hamilton for flour and that he would be glad to send our letters along if we had any for Cincinnati. This was just what we wanted and we were only too glad to accept the kind offer and drew our letters to a close. 20 Indians and their chief from Woapicamikunk passed through our village. They were on their way to the Indian town 2 miles from here. All the men are to gather there for a great council.

7th. Some young Indians from the assembled people came and asked for a hog. We did as they desired. Hereupon they took the hog, promised to pay for it, and left in peace.

8th. McGanner stopped here on his way home. We handed our letters over to him and he promised to see to it that they should be properly forwarded to Cincinnati.

9th. We heard that the Indian captains of the younger Indians had handed over to their present chiefs 20 strings of wampum with the following words, "Chiefs, we notice that you constantly hang your heads in sadness and say nothing. This string of wampum is intended to cheer you up, so that you will lift up your heads and once more think and talk what is good. But the tomahawks (or hatchets) which you handed out for the punishment of the bad Indians, which punishment was meted out last spring, we will not lay down as long as we and our children shall live. We will be prepared, and as soon as we hear of such Indians, who make others sick or put them to death, we will surround them on all sides. If we find out that such are guilty we will cut them to death and burn them, as you saw us doing this spring." They declared that they would soon have another feast of sacrifice and conduct an investigation in regard to poison and sorcery.

10th. Br. Kluge conducted the service. There being no heathen present we prayed the church litany. In the evening we had a talk with our Sr. Theresa.

12th. Br. Kluge had another interview with our Indian Sr. Theresa in preparation for the Holy Communion, which we intend to celebrate tomorrow as will the dear brethren in the congregations. She declared herself very satisfactorily and said, "I know that I am very poor, but I also know that my Saviour has loved me even unto death. He has also shed His precious blood for me. I often remind myself of this, and when I think of it I am content in spite of my poverty and I feel so happy that I thank the Saviour with tears that I know Him. I trust that I may always love Him," etc.

13th. In the evening we enjoyed the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour in Holy Communion to the quickening of our poor and needy hearts.

14th. We had a thanksgiving liturgy. In the afternoon Br. Luckenbach had a talk with Tom, an old negro living here. He told him of the suffering of the Saviour, and that the will of God for everyone is salvation. The old negro contradicted him with a great deal of earnestness, contending that this teaching was only for white people; that the Indians and all other nationalities had received a distinctive teaching from God, and that every nation [had] its own, which they were expected to obey and diligently sacrifice, etc. With a sad heart Br. Luckenbach had to leave him.

15th. The sister of the old negro told us today that he prided himself on his wisdom. He and his son-in-law, an Indian staying in our village, prepare a concoction which throws them into a sweat when they drink it. In this way they are enabled to look into the future. Consequently they know more than the other Indians. When the young people come to him he relates to them all he knows so as to make a deep impression on them.

16th. We talked with a trader by the name of Uttra and asked him whether he would like to buy our cattle, hogs, and household effects, as well as the standing corn and the potatoes still in the ground. Not appearing very anxious, we made a list of all the things we have to sell and wrote the price after each article. Hereupon he told us that he would buy everything we had, provided we would take horses in exchange, because he had no merchandise at the time, otherwise he would rather give that. Having talked to different ones about the matter and not being able to find anybody who would purchase the above-mentioned articles with money, because money is scarce and purchases are usually made with merchandise or with horses, we saw no other way but to accept the trader's offer. We received four horses in exchange for our things. The value of the horses was estimated in accordance with prices in this part of the country and consequently were rather high. But this was the best offer we had. Since we have to leave here, we can only be glad to find someone who is willing to buy everything in a lump. These things would have given us a great deal of trouble. We could not have left them behind. The horses will be of service to us in leaving here. This enables us to begin the journey to Goshen without making much expense.

17th. Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting. Two heathen being present, an Indian address was read after the singing. Shortly before the service an Indian who had stayed in our village overnight visited us. He was full of heathen teaching and heathen doctrine, so we made use of the opportunity to talk to him about the saving Word of God. We asked him if he would not like to hear the true Word of God which we proclaimed, believe on it with all his heart since God Himself gave it to us and commanded that we should preach it to the Indians so that they too might learn to know God their Creator and learn all He had done for their salvation as well as that of all mankind. Hereupon the Indian answered, "I cannot stay long this time, but if you can tell me what you know of God quickly, I want to hear." We told him of Jesus' love for sinners, related the story of His sufferings and what was the will of God for our salvation and that of all mankind, and sought to make clear to him what was really necessary if one wanted to be saved and to do what was pleasing in God's sight.

The Indian listened attentively, then said, "These are good words. Your teaching is pretty much the same as ours, as that which we heard from the Schawano in Woapicamikunk." When we asked him if the Schawano had also taught that God had suffered so terribly for the sins of mankind and had died in order that we might be delivered from the power of Satan and of sin, so that we might have everlasting life, etc., the Indian said, "No! Of that I heard nothing. That is not our teaching." We told him, "That shows that your teaching is of man and not of God." This seemed to make an impression on him. We begged him not to forget the true Word of God which he had heard, but think of it diligently, then he might be convinced that it was the truth. Hereupon he took friendly leave of us and went his way. Such conversations with Indians are frequent. Unfortunately one does not see that it makes the least impression. They pride themselves on their heathen teaching and boast of their virtues though they make no effort to put them into practice.

18th. An old Indian who lives here told Br. Luckenbach, "You talk so much of your teaching and claim that it is of God. But we see that the Indians have the true teaching because God loves them better than the white people. Not long ago a Schawano from Kentucky came here and told us that the white people were starving where he came from and also in Fort Hamilton, because nothing grows that they plant; that it no longer rains there; that all the rivers are dried up and they have to buy their water; that many had said they would move to the borders of the Indian land so that they might not starve. We Indians have no trouble like that. Our corn and all that we planted looks fine. We have rain and water enough," etc. Br. Luckenbach proved that he was wrong and told him that the Schawano had told a lie. He told him that the people of whom the Schawano spoke had enjoyed a good harvest and that their rivers were by no means dry but full. This he had seen on his recent journey to Fort Hamilton. That the corn of the Indians promises a good harvest is not due to the fact that God loves the Indians more than other people or that they earned this by their good behaviour. Oh, no! all this is due to the grace of God; that is why we get what is necessary for sustenance. It is greatly to be desired that the Indians learn to know their gracious, merciful and loving God and Creator, and love Him with all their heart, etc. The proud Indian was silenced.

19th. A Quaker came here. This man has lived near Fort Wayne since spring, his object being to civilize the Miami nation. Two Quakers are among the Miami to show them how to clear the land and plant.[9] As the

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[9] At the request of Little Turtle and Five Medals, a Potawatomi chief, the Friends of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting sent a representative in 1804 who established a farm between thirty and

Quaker mentioned above said, their object is not to remain there very long. After they have taught the Indians and several families are ready to become the leaders, then the Quakers will return home, turning the civilization begun over to the Indians to continue. Should they see that the Indians would continue the good work, a school would be established among them. The Quakers also desire to take some young Indians home with them and teach them trades. He said that he had come here to make a similar offer to the Delaware nation. They want to ask permission to take a number of young Delawares home with them to teach them trades. The Quaker stayed overnight with us. This gave us opportunity to speak more at length with him. It is evident that their one object is to better the outward conditions of the Indians. They do not seem to care for the spiritual welfare of the heathen. The Quaker told us that he was very well acquainted with the Brethren and that he believed that

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thirty-five miles southwest of Fort Wayne for the purpose of teaching the Indians agricultural arts. This Philip Dennis remained most of the year 1804. After his departure the Indians requested that someone be sent to carry on the work he had begun, and in 1806 William Kirk took up the task. In 1807 he was transferred to Ohio, among the Shawnee, but the work on the Wabash was apparently continued for a short time. *A Mission to the Indians, from the Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, to Fort Wayne, in 1804. Written at the time, by Gerard T. Hopkins. With an Appendix, compiled in 1862, by Martha E. Tyson* (Philadelphia, 1862); *A Brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee, appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Baltimore, for Promoting the Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives*, reprinted in *Accounts of Two Attempts towards the Civilization of some Indian Nations in North America* (London, 1806); Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:218; John Johnston, *Recollections of Sixty Years*, edited by Charlotte Reeve Conover (n. p., 1915), 44; *Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes . . .*, Published by the Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings (London, 1844). Johnston, who had been government factor at Fort Wayne, mentions William and Mahlon Kirk. He misdates the beginning of their service.

the efforts of the Quakers and those of the Brethren would fit well together. We told him that our only object was to preach the gospel to the Indians and acquaint them with their Creator and their Saviour, and to do all we could to bring about their eternal salvation, etc. He was a very pleasant man and expressed his pleasure at having made our acquaintance.

20th. The Quaker rode away to the Indian Chief to make known his errand through the trader McGanner as interpreter.

22d. The Quaker returned and stayed with us overnight. He said the Chief had promised to send his answer to Fort Wayne. This was all that he could do.

23d. Early in the morning he left us, inviting us cordially to visit him. While the Quaker was here a number of Indians came here for a visit. They inquired the object of his being here. When they learned that he desired to teach the Indians to work as the white people do, they said, "This man tires his horse in vain. He would better stay at home and work for himself as he pleases. We do not need anyone to teach us how to work. If we want to work we know how to do it according to our own way and as it pleases us," etc.

24th. Br. Kluge preached the sermon. There were a number of visiting heathen present to hear the Word of God. This encouraged us with warm hearts to tell them that in Jesus alone salvation from sin was to be found. Several women were very attentive. After the service they told us that they had enjoyed the sermon. One of the women asked when we should have our next meeting, because her daughter would also like to hear the Word. We told her that we were ready at all times to tell them of the great saving Word of God. Toward evening the said woman brought her daughter, and Br. Luckenbach conducted the meeting, in which he read an Indian translation of an address.

25th. Br. Luckenbach was busy making packsaddles for our journey away from here.

26th. In the afternoon Sr. Kluge had a severe attack of fever. She had to go to bed. We sincerely hope that it may not last long, or we shall be hindered from leaving here at the appointed time.

27th. A man who had been captured as a child by the Indians during the war visited us. He has lived among the Indians ever since. We talked with him for a long time and preached the gospel to him. He speaks English fluently, which enabled us to talk with him all the better and to tell the better what one must do to be saved. He listened attentively and said, "I believe everything you say. But the Indians will never accept your faith, because they believe that their way is the right way and that it leads straight to Heaven."

29th and 30th. Many Indians passed through our place on their way to a great heathen festival to be held in the Indian town 20 miles down the river from us. The lying prophetess who had all sorts of foolish appearances was also led there, so that the Indians might sacrifice and do all other things exactly as she had indicated. On an occasion of this sort, at the direction of the prophetess, an Indian dresses himself in a bearskin; over his face he wears an ugly mask, so that a disguised Indian like this makes an altogether horrible appearance. During the festival this fellow has oversight of the Indians because they are of the opinion that he knows everything and is able to bring to light all the bad things done in secret. For this reason he frequently goes from one Indian to the other and looks into their faces while he performs all sorts of ceremonies.

31st. No public meeting could be held, because nobody presented himself to hear the Word of God. We had a talk with our Indian Sr. Theresa and admonished her to remain true to the Saviour until she died, and never to forget how much it had cost Him to save her.

September 1. On this and subsequent days we sought to pack our things in secret and to prepare ourselves for our journey. Our cattle, hogs, standing corn, and other things we had sold to the French trader. We were to receive in exchange 4 pack horses which we expected every day. Our intention was, as soon as we were ready to leave, to announce to the Indians that we were going away, telling them also the reason why we would depart. We used every precaution, for we heard from time to time that they would not let us leave here in peace. It was but a short time before our intention was known to the savages. Threats immediately followed, namely, that they would take away from us our houses, cattle, and corn.

6th. A Twechtowe chief visited an Indian who lives in our village. He remained overnight. In the evening the little Delaware chief Hackingpomsga, our greatest enemy, also arrived. They consulted together how they might plague us. This consultation lasted all night. The Twechtowe chief also showed himself our enemy. He encouraged the others to carry out his devilish suggestions, pretending that what he said was the will of the President of the United States, who was anxious that the Indians should rob the white people among them of all they had and drive them away.

7th. The two enemies came into our house. After the little Delaware chief, Hackingpomsga, had smoked his pipe, he said with bitterness, "I heard you had sold everything and wanted to move away. That you are going away is a good thing, for we never invited you to come. We long wanted to send you off. We don't need you. In olden times the Indians did not know how to live. But now we do know and have no need that anybody should tell us what to do. I therefore want to tell you this: Your houses and everything made of wood as well as half of your cattle you dare not sell. All these you have gotten on our land, therefore, half of it is ours." All our strenuous objections to this injustice were in vain. They became all the more shameless and angry and heaped upon us all sorts of wicked words and abuses and lied against the Brethren of olden times, laying the murder of the Gnadenhütten Indians to their charge.

Seeing that we could not do anything with the angry savages, we told them they could have the houses, but that we had already sold the rest of the things and that we would not take them back either. The angry Chief demanded that he should have all that he had mentioned; [saying] that he would forbid the Frenchman to buy; that his young people would keep a strict watch. With this speech delivered, he left us in great anger.

After they had gone, Br. Kluge and Br. Luckenbach went to a young chief living two miles from here to lay the matter before him, and to find out whether he and his people were of the same mind as the old Chief.[10] We soon learned to our sorrow that they had come to a previous understanding. But after a while we got so far as an agreement, as we thought, that they would be satisfied with the houses. We felt a little better.

10th. When we were to receive the pack horses and our cattle were to be turned over to the buyer in exchange, two of our hogs were shot and consumed by the Indians who live here. These Indians had received milk without charge from us all summer long. Now when our hogs came near them, they forgot what favors we had done them, and willfully shot two of them. When we talked to them about it, they told us that their new Chief had told them if our cattle should come into their cornfields, they should shoot them. That this statement was not quite groundless we learned soon after.

12th. The trader to whom we had sold all our cattle and things came and told us that the Chief who lives two miles from us had forbidden him to buy more than half of our cattle and corn, that the other half would be claimed by the Indians. He told us that he would rather not buy anything on this condition. For this reason we again went to the faithless Indian chief. We took with us a string of wampum and prepared for an earnest talk.

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[10] Luckenbach identifies this Chief as Anderson. *Post*, 623.

When we got there, he pretended that he was sick and continually talked of quite other matters. But when we told him the object of our coming and reminded him of his promise, made several days before, that they would be satisfied if we would give them our houses; that we now learned that he too wanted half of our possessions and had forbidden the trader to buy, we found that he merely wanted to trouble us, etc. He answered, "I have nothing to do with the matter. The way old Chief Hackingpomsga told you, that way it has to go. I will not contradict him. You got everything on our land and now you want to take your people the money. We cannot allow it. You will have to give something to the young people at least." When asked of what that should consist, he answered, "A cow and several hogs." We objected strenuously and tried our best to show him the injustice of it, but all in vain. When we found that we could not do anything with the shameless people, we were compelled to acquiesce and turned over to them a year-old ox and three hogs, which together with the hogs they killed amounted to 19 dollars in value. That amount we had to pay the trader, to whom we had sold our things. The daily lies and abuses of the Indians make our stay here more and more unpleasant. We were glad when we were finished on the 14th.

15th. The pack horses were loaded and on the 16th, toward noon, we left the White River. Before doing so, however, we once more recalled the many proofs of the gracious assistance and protection of our dear Lord and Saviour which we enjoyed here during the 5 years and 4 months of our stay in this place. We had much to be grateful for in many respects, and with a feeling of shame and sadness in our hearts, we thanked Him for all His help and commended our seedtime of tears to Him.

With this our mission here came to a close.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF BR. AND SR. KLUGE AND BR. ABR. LUCKENBACH FROM THE WHITE RIVER TO BETHLEHEM FROM SEPTEMBER 16, TO NOVEMBER 12, 1806

After we had thanked the dear Lord, with sad and humble hearts, for the gracious help and protection which He had afforded us at this post and had committed ourselves to His further care and guidance, we began our journey on horseback on September 16. Each one had a child on the horse. Four pack horses were laden with our goods, a Cherokee Indian leading them. In this fashion we proceeded quite slowly on a narrow footpath but did not come farther than the next Indian town 8 miles away. Having discovered that the Indian knew nothing about traveling with pack horses, we hired a Frenchman to go with us as far as Fort Hamilton. On the 17th we arrived in Woapicamikunk where we found a large number of Indians engaged in sacrificing and dancing. For this reason we did not care to stop. But when we heard that we could not reach water today we were compelled to stay here overnight at the house of a trader. We were very tired but could not sleep much all night on account of the dancing and noise of the Indians.

18th. As soon as it was day a number of Indians came to see us. One of them, the brother of the present first captain of the Indians, said when we left, "Friends! I believe that your words are the truth. For this reason I am sorry to see you go. But I know that it is impossible for you to remain here, for there are too many Indians who hate you and your doctrine. But it seems to me as if a door was now being closed; that no Word of God would again come into the Indian lands. For that I am sorry. But I trust it may not always be so. The bad Indians and the bad chiefs will not live forever. The time may yet come when the Indians will hear the Word of God gladly and you will be called to come here again."

We assured this Indian that we were very sorry to leave them; that we would be only too glad to come again as soon as they had a sincere desire for the great Word of God. Meanwhile we would pray for them to God that He should open the eyes of the poor Indians so that they might realize how poor and needy they are, and that they need the Saviour.

After this conversation we packed up and resumed our journey. A narrow footpath led us into the wilderness. The horses with the packs on their backs could hardly get through. We had to be on the constant watch that the bushes did not tear the children and us from the horses. Sr. Kluge was worse off than the rest of us. She had no hat and merely had a cloth tied over her head. After we had gone 4 miles, we found that we had been misdirected the day before. For here we found a large spring which formed three little brooks and watered a little meadow. It was a beautiful sight. We refreshed ourselves with a drink of good water and filled our bottles. In the afternoon we passed two large plains, which were overgrown with grass that was higher than the horses. It was a hot day so we were glad when we were once more in the shady woods. But here we came across other difficulties. We met a great many yellow jackets. These had built their nests in the middle of the path. When a horse stepped into one of these nests the yellow jackets attacked us and the horses became quite wild and ran into the bushes. This made it very dangerous for the children. At sundown we came to an arm of the White Water where we stayed overnight. We covered about 20 miles today.

19th. We had hardly gone a mile before we met more yellow jackets which caused a great disturbance among our horses. Our Frenchman was thrown off his horse. This also happened to Sr. Kluge with her smallest child, but fortunately without injury. For this we were very grateful to the Saviour. We now took the precaution of always letting the Frenchman ride ahead with the pack horses, and Br. and Sr. Kluge followed with the children a short distance behind him. After we had proceeded with great difficulty for about 20 miles we came to another arm of the White Water. Here we had nothing to eat but a little zwieback. Being very hungry, we filled up by drinking more tea. During the night we heard the howl of wolves near our camp.

20th. We passed a small plain. At the side of it we discovered hazelnuts and wild plums. We gathered as many as possible with a great deal of satisfaction. We had a great deal of trouble with wasps again. In the evening we came to a creek. It was dried up, so that there was only a little water to be seen here and there. However we had to drink the water, for we were very thirsty. Having no provisions we were compelled to resort to the corn which the Frenchman had brought for his dogs. While we were cooking it and feeling especially anxious on account of our poor little children, we all of a sudden heard someone calling cows. Our Frenchman immediately rode off and found a family of white people half a mile away. From them he procured a piece of bread, a piece of pork, and half a pailful of buttermilk. These he brought to camp and we enjoyed them with gratitude.

21st. The family of white people came to us. They are Dunkards. Br. Luckenbach had visited them in their home. He brought with him some bread and butter which he had bought from them. In the afternoon we came to some houses about 12 miles from Fort Hamilton. It rained hard so we stayed at the house of a man who had recently moved here from Kentucky. His wife had been scalped by the Indians during the war, but escaped with her life. She carried a bald strip on her head from the adventure.

22d. Our Frenchman left us and returned home. When we examined our horses, we found they were badly chafed. To heal them we stopped here for several days. We inquired after another lodging but could not find any. We were therefore compelled to stay with our first host, in spite of the fact that we were not very well satisfied, because it was so dirty in the house and we had to sleep with the family in one little room. They had little to live from themselves. Sometimes we had rancid butter which was very dirty. Our daily food consisted of corn meal and pumpkin baked together, boiled pumpkin, milk, and a roasted ear of corn. Fortunately we still had some coffee. When the rain ceased, Br. Luckenbach rode to Cincinnati to get our remaining articles of clothing.

26th. Br. Kluge was called to the side of a sick man who was near his end. He was quite comfortless and in a pitiful state of mind. Br. Kluge told him of Jesus' love for sinners, to which he answered, "I am glad to hear that, but I am a very great sinner." When told that the grace of God was still greater, he began to weep.

27th. Br. Kluge visited him again. He found him very weak but much happier. Upon his being asked if he could now believe that the Saviour had also died for his sins, he said, "Oh, yes! this is now my only comfort. On that alone I rest. I find it difficult to speak but I remember everything. I am happy and no longer fear death." The relatives asked Br. Kluge to pray. During the prayer those present were deeply moved. He admonished them to remember that they too had to leave the world and should prepare themselves by getting acquainted with God our Saviour. Toward evening we heard that the sick man had died.

28th. Br. Luckenbach returned from Cincinnati. He brought our things and letters from our dear brethren Forestier[1] and Loskiel telling us, to our great joy, that we should come to Bethlehem. In accordance with this we got ready to proceed. Since experience had taught us that we could not make the journey with pack horses, we looked about for a little wagon, but were unable to find one the first days. At last it so happened that a man with his family arrived from Kentucky. He had a little wagon. It did not quite suit us because it was not very well arranged. Not being able to find anything better we bought the wagon, and for it and the harness we paid 65 dollars. Br. Luckenbach gave his horse to cover this amount. When we wanted to continue our journey on Sept. 30th, we found that one of our horses was missing. It was found on the 2d of October, but it cost us 3 dollars. We sold two of our pack horses for wagon horses and thus continued our journey October 2, in the afternoon. Not being familiar with the team, we hired a driver for several days. Sr. Kluge rode in the wagon with the children; the brethren drove the pack horses. The road had been but recently opened up through the woods and consequently was very rough, so that we had to go forward with a great deal of care. But it was after all an improvement to travel in this way, especially because of the children. After we had gone about 8 miles, it became dark. Here, however, there was a farm, but the owner was very unfriendly and would not have anything to do with us. We had to proceed a mile farther to another plantation. Here we pitched our camp. The owner and his wife welcomed us in a very friendly manner and brought us white bread and milk. Feed for the horses could also be gotten. During the night one of the horses ran away. Br. Luckenbach and the driver after a great deal of trouble brought it back again.

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[1] Charles von Forestier came to America from Germany in 1806. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the Moravian Church. This board was responsible for devising ways and means of piloting the church through the difficulties that beset it in its far-flung activities. He was also set apart as one of the so-called *seniores civiles.* He was a member of the Unity's Elders' Conference, but was deposed in 1812.

5th. We came to the Big Miami. The river was at the time so low that we could easily cross it with our little wagon. On the other side of the stream, the way led us over a very large level plain on which there were many beautiful plantations. The farther we proceeded, the more we were impressed with the tremendous drought. Quite large streams were entirely dry. Many people have to get their drinking water 2 miles away and drive their cattle still farther. The soil in this neighborhood is exceedingly fertile. They raise 80 bushels of corn to the acre. In the woods one finds the best wood. In the evening we tried to procure provisions but could come across nothing more than a piece of pork.

6th. We reached Lebanon, a small village. Here we had two of our horses shod. This detained us until toward evening. After that we drove 2 miles further, and then stayed overnight at a dried up brook. The water was so ill smelling that we could not drink it. We suffered much from thirst here. Finally we got a little buttermilk from the people living in the neighborhood.

7th. We dismissed our driver, and Br. Luckenbach took his place. The way was very rough today, so that we had to proceed very slowly. We were therefore very glad when we met a man who had to go our way for 16 miles. This man was led to attach himself to us and helped us over the mountains. We accepted his offer with thanks. 10 o'clock in the morning we arrived safely at the [Little] Miami where we met a man by the name of Ruh. He had moved here from Philadelphia in the spring. He was busy with building operations, desiring to erect a mill, a brewery, and a hotel. He was very hospitable. He had a good breakfast prepared for us. This was most welcome, for it was a long time since we had had a decent meal. After we had refreshed ourselves we crossed the Little Miami and in the evening arrived at a plantation the owner of which was a very hospitable man, letting us have feed for our horses at a reasonable price. Having proceeded but a mile on the 8th the wagon made too sharp a turn, struck a tree and the pole broke off. While in this great trouble a man on horseback came on the scene and helped us. He got the wagon in order and offered to drive as far as the next plantation. We looked upon this man as sent of God and thanked the dear Saviour for the timely help. At the next house our wagon was repaired some more, so that we could keep on until we should reach a wagoner. The above-mentioned man offered to remain with us until evening, and the 9th he promised to stay with us four days longer if we desired it. He said, "As you see I have a good horse and can travel as far in one day as you in two. I like to be with you and gladly help you on your way for you have a long, difficult journey before you." Glad and thankful for the delightful offer of this good man, we peacefully proceeded on our way. In the afternoon, we had opportunity to buy some bread. We stayed overnight at a hotel.

10th. It rained a little. We exchanged a packsaddle for some butter. In the afternoon we passed Chilicothe. It stands on a level stretch of land which has many beautiful plantations. After that we came to the so-called Pickaway plain, which is extraordinarily large and almost treeless. The road was very even, and the wagon rolled along smoothly. 5 miles farther on we came to the Sciota, which is a beautiful stream and good to look upon. We could cross it without danger. The soil is very fertile in this region. The inhabitants assured us that there was from three to four feet of black earth. We stayed overnight at a hotel, the host being very friendly. We could not sleep much because we could not have a fire on the hearth. The door could not be kept closed save a chair was placed in front of it, and this could not be done very well because people were going in and out almost constantly. We wrapped ourselves in our woolen blankets to protect us against the draught. The people around here are Germans. A number of them tried to persuade Br. Kluge to remain and be their minister. They complained that many of their children were unbaptized, and that they themselves as Lutherans could never have instruction in the evangelical doctrine because they did not care to have anything to do with the sect whom they called "Stramplers!"

11th. In the evening, after having traveled about twenty miles, our friend from Somerset left us. We took friendly leave of him and thanked him for his faithful assistance.

12th. In the morning at 9 o'clock we arrived at New Lancaster.[2] Here a heavy rain detained us until the afternoon. This is a pretty little place growing rapidly. The surrounding country is beautiful, and the inhabitants for the most part are Germans. The rain letting up somewhat, we proceeded on our way about 6 miles and stayed overnight at the house of a hatter who had moved here from Reading.

13th. In the midst of a heavy cold rain we came to the brother-in-law of our good friend from Somerset. The whole family received us cordially and entertained us without cost.

14th. We came to the little village of Springfield, which is quite new. It is laid out beautifully. Next we reached the Muskingum which we crossed. The little village of Zanesville was next reached. This place is also beautifully laid out. These two places face one another on the banks of the river. We stayed overnight at a hotel. The journey before us being a hard one we had further repairs made on our wagon.

16th. We were ready to proceed. A Kentuckian on his way to Shippensburg offered himself as driver if we would "keep" him, because his money was all gone. Everybody telling us that the rough way required a good driver, we accepted him. At noon we left Zanesville and traveled 16 miles.

17th. We came to a chain of mountains and crossed safely. At noon we crossed a bridge that was anything but safe. Today, for the first time on our journey, we could buy tea. In the evening we reached Boehmerstown which consists of only a small number of houses. We lodged at a hotel. Here we had a good supper prepared, which refreshed us again after our long fast.

[2] This is now called Lancaster.

18th. All day long we went up the mountains. In the evening we reached a German hotel where we stayed overnight. The entertainment was good. The man is well acquainted with the Brethren, having formerly lived near Lebanon. He also told us that he had friends near Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, who were Moravians or Brethren. When he heard that we wanted to send two of our pack horses to Gnadenhütten he offered to take them there, because it was only 30 miles from his place. We therefore wrote to our dear brethren Zeisberger and Peter, and soon after he began his journey.

19th. By noon we arrived at Morristown, which consists of a few houses, and in the evening we arrived at Newalstown, a new but pretty little village.

20th. As usual, we resumed our journey without breakfast, reached the Ohio, and were ferried across to Wheeling. Our money being nearly all gone, we went into the city to look up a merchant who would advance us money with Br. Gottfried Haga[3] as security. In Mr. Updegraf, a Quaker, we found a willing friend. We left Wheeling, which is very beautiful and about the size of Pittsburg. We soon reached a rocky elevation from which one had a very beautiful view of the surrounding country. The rocky mountains are a perfect wonder of nature. We lodged in a very good hotel. In this region we found a great many beautiful orchards. This gave our children especially a great deal of pleasure. They had never seen apples on the trees.

21st. We came to the little town of Alexandria, and 9 miles farther along to a little hotel. The hotel was full of people who had been to the drill. Most of them were drunk and made a terrible noise. Not being able to have a room of our own, we went to the kitchen to find rest.

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[3] Godfrey Haga was a Philadelphia business man of substance and a member of the Moravian Church. His interest in missionary activities is attested by the fact that in 1825 the Church received a legacy amounting to some $200,000 for the promotion of missionary activities among the American Indians.

22d. At noon we arrived at Washington where a large number of people had gathered for the military review. We traveled 7 miles farther.

23d. Our driver left us and we were once more alone. In the afternoon we passed the Monongahela which is very broad but low at this time.

24th. One of our horses became sick and lay down in front of the wagon. This worried us not a little. We bled it and that restored it again. By evening we reached a good lodging place.

25th. We traveled over nothing but mountains and came near Laurel Hill.

26th. We had thought of resting a day. But because we could not find anything to eat in the hotel, and a man arrived with a wagon who was on his way to Strasburg, we decided to go with him and covered 12 miles.

27th. We crossed the Allegheny mountains and so-called Dry Ridge and on the 28th we came to Somerset.

29th. We passed through Bedford and 7 miles farther stayed overnight in a poor hotel. Late at night two wagonloads of travelers arrived who increased the nuisance.

30th. The ground was covered with snow. It rained and melted during the day. It was very cold so that we could hardly stand it on the horses. Our poor children complained bitterly in spite of the fact that we wrapped them the best we could in woolen blankets. In the evening we came to a poor hotel. We were cold and wet.

31st. We continued our journey in spite of cold and wet weather and now longingly looked forward to the end of our pilgrimage. In the evening we came to the Blue Mountains which we crossed safely, on November 1. By noon we were at Strasburg and at Shippensburg we stayed overnight.

2d. We reached Carlisle, and by the 3d the Susquehannah, over which we were taken for three miles to Harrisburg. On the 4th we passed at noon through

Elizabethtown, and on the afternoon of the 5th we had the joy of seeing our beloved Lititz. What feeling of joy and gratitude toward God our Saviour passed over us cannot be described. This joy and delight increased when we came into the village and were greeted and welcomed with much love by all the brethren and sisters. Here we remained until the 10th, meanwhile being strengthened in body and spirit. Thereupon we journeyed to Bethlehem where we arrived on the 12th. Here too we were received with much love.

When we consider the many proofs of the gracious protection and help of our dear Lord which we enjoyed on this in every respect difficult journey of 700 miles, we have to confess:

"With Mother hand He leadeth His own hither and thither. Give to our God the Glory."

LETTERS FROM THE WHITE RIVER MISSION

WOAPIMINSCHI, March 20, 1802

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER VAN VLECK:

Your honored letter of March 15, 1801, was received on November 17, to the great joy of all of us. Dear Br. Luckenbach, who had gone to Cincinnati to get some money for our scanty subsistence, brought it. The money was drawn on Br. Haga through Mr. Ziegler, as you, dear brother, undoubtedly have learned already. In this connection, I would state that we would have gladly drawn less than fifty dollars, if the journey to Cincinnati was not so expensive. Having no horse of our own, we have to hire one, which cannot be done, at the very least, for less than half a dollar a day, therefore, a journey of more than a hundred miles one way comes pretty high. Later on, when we are once fitted out better, let us hope we shall not need nearly as much as we do now. I assure you that we will do our utmost to save the mission money, and consequently do all the heavy outside work ourselves. Not being used to such labors, our hands are full of blisters and the work becomes pretty bitter to us.

Amid all these outside troubles, however, we are fairly content and well, and remember that we do it all for the Saviour and for the good of His cause. The Saviour reveals Himself to us, His needy ones, and blesses our work, so that we may say in the midst of it all, "His precious sweat of labor makes our toil easy." As for the rest, we have the confidence in the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, that they will allow us to buy flour for bread, and other things which we cannot provide for ourselves.

The greeting from you and the other brethren of the Helpers' Conference to our Indian brethren and sisters, which your dear letter brought, I solemnly delivered in a meeting, and they send their best greetings in return. Joshua still remembers you. This brother could be a great service to the cause of the Lord, if his walk in the congregation were more steadfast and less fickle, for which reason the Indian brethren have little respect and love for him. On the contrary, we show him all possible patience and love.

Our little station, which as yet has no name, consists at present of seven log houses. We like it here very well, and we shall enjoy it still better if more heathen will be converted to God soon. Meanwhile, we sow the seed prayerfully and in hope, and perhaps it will come up in His own time and bring forth fruit. The Saviour has already permitted his poor servants to see some fruit of their labors.

Since our being here, two adults and one child have been baptized into Jesus' death. The first was the daughter of the old Br. Jacob, who lived here among the heathen, but after we came visited us faithfully and listened attentively to the Word of God. She soon became very sick, however, so that she was unable to come to us, whereupon she had herself brought in a canoe, and later became a believer in the Saviour. Upon her repeated request on her bed of sickness, she was baptized into Jesus' death and received the name of Magdalena. A number of days after that, she quietly passed away, happy in the Lord, and a few days later she was buried, as the first grain on our God's Acre.

The second one was an old widow, who had been blind for three years. She was of the Monsey nation. She had herself led here to us for the purpose of hearing the Word of God, which made such an impression upon her, that she soon begged for permission to make her abode with us. I wrote before concerning this to the dear brethren Cunow and Reichel,[1] therefore will not say more here than that she was baptized into Jesus' death, on Christmas Day, in the presence of a great many heathen, and received the name of Lydia. She truly lived with faith in the Saviour, and her mouth gave witness of that which her heart felt, so that it was a joy to everyone who talked with her about her soul. In this happy state of heart she remained until her end, which came, February 22d, as the result of a severe attack of pneumonia. Thus our first fruits are again out of our midst and with the Saviour, in everlasting safety.

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[1] Samuel Christlieb Reichel, for many years secretary of the Unity's Elders' Conference.

The child which was also baptized belongs to the Indian Sr. A. Salome, who moved with us to this place from Goshen. Many heathen families have announced to us their intention to move to us. God grant that they will hold to their purpose and be converted to the Lord.

For a long time already I should have liked to visit among the heathen in order to look up the many old baptized of the dispersion, but thus far, for various reasons, it did not come to pass. But I expect to carry out this intention this summer.

In regard to our correspondence with you, dear brethren, we earnestly desire that we might have the pleasure of receiving a letter from you more frequently, because the letter we had from you recently was the first since we are here. Of congregational reports we hear nothing at all, for which we are often very sorry. From our brethren in Goshen, we hear nothing at all, in spite of the fact that we wrote a number of times to them. At the same time that I received your letter, about the middle of November, I had one from Br. Heckewelder, in which he stated that a number of letters and also some shoes were still at his place for us. At the time of my writing this letter, we have not heard anything further, though we need the shoes badly.

We should also like to know, dear brethren, if you intend to send us the necessary clothing from Bethlehem, or if we are to buy it here, where everything is very expensive. In the first case, I will enclose a small list of things which we need badly.

I would gladly have written to the dear brethren and sent the letter with Mr. Ziegler, who went to Philadelphia and will also visit in Bethlehem, but at the time, we had no opportunity to send letters to Cincinnati. This is often the case, because we have no horse of our own. Even though there is a chance of sending letters to Fort Hamilton, now and then, we do not find it out, because the Indian towns are a number of miles away from here.

In regard to the Indian language, we can say that we are a little better acquainted with it than we were. We put forth every effort to learn it, as much as our time allows at present. It would be considerably easier for us, if we had an Indian dictionary, as we had, for instance, in the Indian mission in Surinam. Here we have nothing but Br. Zeisberger's printed spelling book, and that, according to the Indians, is full of Monsey words, while here nothing but the Delaware is spoken. We are therefore compelled to learn the language from the lips of the Indians, and we hope in this way to accomplish our purpose.

Since the diary of our journey accompanies this letter, I will not write anything further. I hope that you may be able to get a satisfactory idea of our journey from the diary, because I took special pains to record everything. Br. Luckenbach copied it. A part of the diary of the congregation also accompanies the letter.

For this time, I know nothing further to write about, except that my little Charles Friederich is getting along nicely. He is very well, grows beautifully and can already say "Mammi" and "Tati." The rest of us, my dear wife and I, and Br. Luckenbach, the Saviour be praised, are also well, and dwell together quite contentedly in love and peace. We greet most heartily all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, as also the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences, and commend ourselves to their prayers and remembrance before the dear Saviour. Especially do I embrace you with much love as

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

Here follows a short list of the things we need:

Br. Kluge would ask for two pair of trousers, one pair of cloth and the other of black leather, for the summer; also a cloth vest without sleeves.

My dear wife asks for herself some flannel for petticoats, two pair of gray linen stockings; also some linen for shirts for our little Carl.

Br. Luckenbach wants a short vest with sleeves, a pair of long cloth trousers, a pair of leather trousers, and a pair of drawers. We all need shoes, each one two pair. Furthermore, we would like to have material for bed curtains, because there are so many mosquitoes, and then, too, we have but one small room, so that it is not very agreeable when one of us has the fever. Should the dear brethren choose to send to Cincinnati some coffee also, and chocolate and tea, in addition to the articles named, we would be very glad, because these things, with the exception of tea, are very expensive here, costing fifty cents a pound. But all this, dear brethren, we leave to your judgment.

Br. Luckenbach also asks for two pair of woolen stockings. The reason why we decided to send all our letters and diary direct to you, and not via Goshen, are the following: 1. The mail to Goshen goes a roundabout way. 2. Our letters and diary might be allowed to lie in Goshen so that you would not receive them as soon as you might, even as our letters from you remain in Goshen a long time, which makes our correspondence long drawn out. We hope, dear brethren, you will have no objections to our sending your letters by way of Cincinnati. You may then kindly send our diary to Goshen, as opportunity offers.

WHITE RIVER, June 29, 1802

MY DEAR BROTHER VAN VLECK:

Since such a good opportunity presents itself, in that two of our Indian brethren, Jacob and Joshua, go to Cincinnati for the purpose of supplying themselves with some needful things which they cannot procure here, and also to bring a gallon of Communion wine for us, I cannot refrain from sending you these lines of heartiest greetings and announcing that all of us are well, while I can at the same time convey to the brethren of the Helpers' Conference some news concerning our post.

Your dear letter of September 13, last year, besides other letters, and monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference, were received through an Indian by way of Goshen, on June 21, to the great joy of us all. Even though the contents were old, they were a comfort and an encouragement to us, especially so, because we learned from them that we are everywhere remembered with sympathetic interest. To our joy we also learned from your last letter that we had received you as our special correspondent, dear brother, and also, that you desired to hear from us often. As to the latter, I believe that more of our reports have reached you since your last letter, because in the fall of last year, I sent via Goshen detailed letters to the brethren Cunow and Reichel, as well as one via Cincinnati to Br. Haga. In April, this spring, I sent you a letter, besides the report of our journey and the station diary, by way of Cincinnati, and I hope that all of these things have reached their destination.

The monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference, which we received from Goshen, were read with a great deal of pleasure and interest. I sincerely wish, if possible, to have other numbers sent us, from time to time. We also long very much for a textbook, because for lack of a new one, we are at present using the one for 1800, and will continue to do so, until we have the good fortune, once more, of having a new book.

In regard to our outward circumstances, thanks to the Saviour, we are fairly well settled. We have the heaviest labors behind us, because we not only have our houses, but also a good garden, which is full of vegetables. Besides this, we fenced off an acre and a half of good land, and planted it with corn and potatoes, all of which look very nice and promise a good harvest. All this we accomplished with our own hands, with hardly any assistance, therefore, dear brother, you may easily imagine that this has cost us many a hard day's labor, until we got so far. We did everything, however, no matter how hard, with pleasure, and mutually encouraged one another with the thought that we were doing it all for the Saviour. Because my wife and I and Br. Luckenbach dwell together in the sincerest brotherly love, we undertake everything with our united strength, in God's name, whereby we often feel the co-operation of the Saviour.

We found a man by the name of Gordon, who lives in Fort Hamilton, who will deliver us good flour at $4.00 a hundred, over which we rejoice. Oh, how gladly would we spend our days here, without the least regret for any efforts put forth, and we will do our best to master the difficult Indian language, if only more desire for the Word of God would manifest itself among the numerous Indian nations around here. In that respect the prospects are still not very bright, for all sleep quietly in sin. The Great Enemy has surrounded them, as with a strong wall, and as soon as he notices that one or the other listens to the Word of God, he becomes angry, and seeks to confound the minds of the poor heathen with all sorts of lies, uttered by his instruments, so that it often becomes so dark around us, that it seems as if the air was full of evil spirits, and that we were right in the midst of them. All around us, Satan rages, and by means of his crafty designs he supplants us, which fact often drives us to the Saviour for strength and courage, and He hears us, too, and comforts us, so that with renewed strength and yet with a feeling that in ourselves we are weak, we proclaim the Word of God. What the future will bring forth, we cannot tell, for whisky drinking is fearfully common in the near-by Indian towns, so that not a day passes that the Indians are not drunk. A great many are killed in their drunkenness, others drink themselves to death, of these things we have more than one example.

Although a number of heathen families have stated their intention to move to us and be converted, so far none has come. The way it appears, it is very difficult for them to leave their heathenism with its abominations. This often robs us of all courage. The most doubtful thoughts often arise in our hearts, whether anything can be accomplished for the Saviour in this community, in spite of every effort and expense. The powerful traffic in whisky all around us promises very little good. Nevertheless, we are prepared to persevere, by the grace of God, under the most difficult trials, so long as the dear Saviour and our dear brethren desire it.

The most painful of all is that some of our old Indian brethren, who moved here with us from Goshen, do not deny themselves whisky, and often sneak off secretly to one of the heathen towns, where in full sight of the Indians, they get hopelessly drunk. The heathen then excuse themselves and say that the baptized are no better than they. Our few old baptized souls often cause us a great deal of pain and sorrow. Our old Br. Jacob is the only one who has nothing to do with drink. You may therefore imagine, dear brother, how we must feel. We spare no pains with admonishing and entreating them that they should show themselves as the children of God, but they crave whisky too strongly. This, too, is on the whole the greatest hindrance to the conversion of the heathen. I am very sorry, dear brother, that I am unable to report something more cheerful, but we consider it our duty to tell you everything just as it is from time to time, so that you may get a proper idea of the situation and be enabled to form a better judgment in regard to it. Oh, how we would rejoice, if it should be possible to announce a more gratifying progress of the mission!

Recently a rumor was circulated among the young Indians, who are inimical to the gospel, that the chiefs had said that the Indians should not listen to us, because they had not invited the teachers of the Word of God to come, only the Indians in Goshen; furthermore, the Governor, in Philadelphia, had told them that the Word of God was only for white people, and not for the Indians, therefore they would drive us away pretty soon, etc.[2] Because this rumor was so persistent, and even one of our baptized brethren, when reprimanded on account of his sinful life, tried to use it against us, we resolved to send the chiefs a message and call their attention to the rumor and inquire what their mind in the matter really was. Joshua took the message to them, and soon after returned with the assurance that the report circulated was the lie of bad Indians; that we should not believe it; that we might rest assured that their only desire was that the Indians might be converted; that they would not hinder us, much less send us away from here; and then they intimated that perhaps a drunken captain might have started the report. Whether these fine promises have any foundation, time will tell. This much we know, that the chiefs are the worst drunkards themselves.

For this time, I know nothing further to report, except that my little son is well, grows beautifully, and already begins to walk and to talk. In conclusion, we heartily greet all our dear brethren in the congregations and commend ourselves to their prayers and remembrance before the Saviour. Especially do we greet all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, as well as the brethren of the Elders' conferences, most heartily. My dear wife greets yours with much love, and Br. Luckenbach and I embrace you with much love, as, through Jesus' suffering and death,

Your faithful brethren,
J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

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[2] Some of the chiefs had visited the President in Washington in the winter of 1801-2, but the speech delivered to them by Jefferson was quite the opposite of that here reported by the Indians. See *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Memorial ed.), 16:391-92.

WHITE RIVER, September 24, 1802

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER VAN VLECK:

To the great joy of us all, I received, July 13, three letters from you by way of Cincinnati, through the Indian brethren Joshua and Jacob, who had journeyed thither for a number of necessities. I sent a letter with them for you, and also one for Mr. Ziegler, asking him to send us the letters mentioned above. I trust ours to you has come into your hands long ago. Mr. Ziegler not only sent with the Indian brethren the afore-mentioned letters from you and Br. Cunow, but other letters besides; also a package with shoes, medicine, three textbooks, one English and the other two German, monthly and weekly reports of the U. E. C., so that we received everything safely and uninjured, according to your list. We thank you most heartily.

From your November letter, I learn with regret that you were worried about us. Though our letters had been sent to you at the time, but judging from your writing, they had not as yet reached you. You further state that you had received a letter from Br. David Zeisberger from which you gathered that we had written to Goshen but that Br. Zeisberger had not had a letter from us, which struck you as strange. The reason for that was this: in the first place, I had but a short time before written Br. David Zeisberger a long letter consisting of two sheets, in which I made the request that he should forward it to you. In this letter I mentioned everything at length, telling him about our journey, how it came about that we chose and settled where we did, and the like. When I wrote again to Goshen, I did not know at the time that the former letter had been lost. In the second place, just about that time I had the fever so badly that I could not write as much as I should have liked, otherwise I surely would have written to Br. David Zeisberger, too, because I entertain the highest regard and love for him.

In your letter of January 9, we learned, with much pleasure, that our letters, which had been so long on the way, had at last reached you safely. With a united feeling of shame and joy, we also learned from your letter your tender sympathy with us in our circumstances. This quite strengthened our courage, because we received the assurance anew that our dear brethren remember us before the dear Saviour. We thank you most heartily for the beautiful greeting for the New Year, dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. We pray the dear Saviour to help us look steadfastly upon Him, in our need, so that we may be found willing instruments in His hands and that He may carry out all His plans for us and our station. You also desire, dear brethren, that we should tell you what led us to select this place, and how we set about it. In answer to this, I give you the following:

It is true that Br. David Zeisberger advised us, if possible, not to settle nearer than ten miles to an Indian town. This good advice we bore constantly in mind, and not only this, but the many other good things which Brother Zeisberger had told us, and sincerely tried to act accordingly. At that time, however, Br. Zeisberger knew no more of the lie of the land and the heathen towns in this vicinity, than did we. After we came here, we saw everything in a different light than it was pictured to us in Goshen, and we had to choose what we deemed best. Br. Zeisberger's advice that we should not settle nearer than ten miles to a heathen town, we could not follow at all, greatly as we would have desired it ourselves, for the reason that the Delaware towns, of which there are nine in all, lie from four to five miles apart, and are scattered along the river. After these towns come other settlements of Indian nations as for instance, the Nanticoke, Schawanos and others. After that there is nothing but meadowland as far as the eye can reach, until the banks of the Wabash. Because we had come upon the invitation of the Indian chiefs, naturally they had a place chosen for our village, namely, below the above-mentioned nine Delaware towns. There was but one space of about ten miles, upon which we could decide as a suitable place. In addition to this, the chiefs told us that if we would settle on the tract which they had designated for us, they would see to it that no whisky or drunken Indian would be allowed to come into our settlement, and we should dwell there in peace, and undisturbed. They made it very plain at the same time, that should we locate elsewhere they could not promise us anything good. For this reason they, themselves, had hunted this place for us.

In spite of this, we explored the whole neighborhood with our Indian brethren, but we could find none better or even as good as the one where we now live. Another thing, a road leads along the river from one Indian town to the other, and if we had built anywhere else, this road would have passed right through our village, and that, too, would have brought whisky in our settlement. Where we are, we are away from the road, because the river makes a great bend about three miles above our place, whereby the unusually large road is cut off and caused to lead straight through the woods. The distance from the river, where our station is located, and the road, is about three miles. With this taken into consideration, on the one side our place is eight miles from the nearest Indian town, and on the other, four miles. From the reasons given, you may judge, dear brother, that it was really not in our power to settle farther away from the heathen towns, much as we would have liked to do so.

Furthermore, our place is on the east side of the White River. On the two large plains, the one right beside our place and the other opposite, on the west side of the river, we do our planting. These plains are not flooded save in times of unusual rains. This spring the water of the river did not come nearly as high as the banks. Both the plains above and below us do get under water, because they lie so much lower than ours. As regards the drunkenness of the heathen, that has not interfered with us here, since we have come. No drunken heathen has come into our settlement or attempted to bring whisky to this place. Those of our Indian brethren, who do not crave the heathen abominations, can live here in peace, but to such as like whisky and heathenism, distance from heathen towns makes little or no difference, because we have had the sad experience that such prefer to go some distance to get drunk, because they believe they will not be detected so readily.

From your letter of April 3, we learn that you had a long conference with Mr. Ziegler about us, dear brethren. This pleases us, because this gentleman is pretty well acquainted with this community, and without a doubt could tell you a great deal about conditions here. I have also had a letter from him since his visit in Bethlehem, in which he expressed his pleasure over it, and offered himself anew to be at our service, wherever he can. We also learned from your letter, with deeply interested hearts, of the many changes which have taken place among you and in the Brethren's Unity as a whole. We also thanked the dear Saviour for his gracious government of the Brethren, to whom we likewise are favored to belong. I thank you, dear brother, for the faithful announcement of these things. The congregational reports always prove a blessing to us. They are an encouragement to our hearts here, where we are deprived of so much that the congregations hold precious. We would kindly ask you therefore to rejoice our hearts often with the said reports, which perhaps might be sent via Cincinnati.

We are greatly in need of clothing and other things. At your word, we will let you know every year what we need, so that these things may be sent along with Mr. Ziegler's goods. I have already mentioned in a letter to you this spring, what we need most. This order apparently reached you too late to fill it this year, I therefore add another small list of things needed, in addition to those things already ordered. These we need in the coming year. In this way, dear brethren, we feel that you will know in good time what is needed.

And now, dear brethren, I believe that I have answered your dear letters. I will tell you something yet concerning ourselves and our post. Thanks to the Saviour, we are all in better health this year than last. Thus far we have had no fever, with the exception of little Carl, who was feverish the whole month of August. To our deep regret, after he had been well for awhile, he was taken again today with the fever. I would like to learn from Dr. Freitag, what one can use when a child is sick with a fever and then have the necessary medicine sent to me. Our Indian brethren are all quite well, with the exception of Joshua, who had the fever for several days, but has recovered.

Our corn harvest is about over. In spite of the great drought, due to the fact that we hardly had a bit of rain all the months of July and August, the harvest turned out well, to our great joy. We are heartily grateful to the gracious Heavenly Father for this favor. We are nearly finished with our outside work, therefore we will have it somewhat easier and will find more leisure to learn the Indian language, which lies very near our hearts. We could wish for our Indian brethren more growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Saviour. We would that they might show forth more of the fire of love, and faithfulness to the Lord and His cause, whereby they might by their walk and conversation incite the heathen to imitate them. We sincerely wish that they would yield themselves wholly to the Saviour. These things are greatly to be desired, and we earnestly pray that the Saviour should bring them to pass.

Matters progress very slowly as far as the conversion of the heathen is concerned. Since my last letter to you, only one widow,[3] who was baptized by the Brethren in olden times, moved to us with her grandchildren. The fifth of this month she was readmitted into the con-

[3] Sister Louisa.

gregation. Another widow,[4] whom we readmitted already in the spring, partook of the Holy Communion the fourth of this month. These two old widows, whom the Saviour again led out of their error and added to His flock, are a great joy to us, for the gracious favor enjoyed is greatly appreciated by them, and they seek the Lord with their whole heart. They recall with pleasure the time when they belonged to the Indian congregation near Bethlehem, where they frequently visited. We wish with all our heart that the Saviour to whom all souls are precious, might keep these two old widows in the straight and narrow path. We commend them to your prayers and remembrance before the Saviour. Though none of the numerous heathen who frequently announced their intention to move to our place, have really done so, we do not give up hope. We commend the Saviour's love for sinners to everyone whom we meet, and earnestly petition that the Saviour will richly bless the word of His atonement, which, we, though all unworthy, proclaim in His name to the hearts of the heathen. Br. Loskiel, who is undoubtedly in your midst by this time, we welcome most heartily. Heartiest greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference and of the Elders' conferences, as to all the brethren and sisters of the congregations. My dear wife sends greetings to yours, and Br. Luckenbach and I embrace you with much love, as

Your faithful brethren,

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

WHITE RIVER, THE PLACE CALLED WOAPIMINTSCHI,
September 30, 1802

DEAR BELOVED BROTHER VAN VLECK:

Your precious little note, which I myself had the pleasure of bringing, together with other letters, from

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[4] Sister Anna Salome.

Cincinnati, gave me great joy when it fell into my hands, and more so when I learned from it your sincere interest as well as that of the Helpers' Conference, in me. I thank you most heartily for it all.

You evidently have not forgotten me, judging from your letter, and still remember our walk in the neighborhood of Allentown. I can assure you that I think of you with much love, and the conversation which I had with you on the pleasure walk mentioned before, is often very real to me. Now that you live in Nazareth, I would be happy to take walks with you there, where there are so many beautiful places.

I hope to learn through you of all the special circumstances and occurrences in the Hall,[5] which will ever be very interesting and pleasant to me, for I still think frequently of the time of blessing which I spent there with the dear children and the dear brethren. Kindly tell me how things are there now. You urge me in your note to write soon and in a very confidential manner. As for the former, I trust that you will excuse me this time, since I have had no opportunity up to this time. It is quite expensive to send letters by mail, so I waited for this chance when the necessary letters and the reports are sent. I sincerely hope that these few lines may fall into your hands. In regard to the latter, I will endeavor to fulfill your wish, as far as lies in my power and the Saviour gives it to me in this hour.

I cannot help but say that thus far I have been well in body and soul. In spite of the many hardships the Saviour has thus far preserved us in good health, so that I cannot otherwise than thank Him most heartily for it. The Saviour has also revealed Himself to my heart and has kept me to the resolution which He gave me when I accepted the call here, to offer all the days of my life in self-sacrificing service of Him, no matter where that may be. He has also made me feel how poor and unworthy I am for this service, and how far short I fall of carrying out everything which He desires of me. I am often driven to seek His comfort and encouragement, which He also affords me, whenever I seek it with Him, with all my heart.

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[5] Nazareth Hall, where Luckenbach was teaching when he received his call to the White River Mission.

Oh, help me pray, that the Saviour should give me grace to witness, with a warm heart, of His death and blood and salvation, among these heathen who are still in such great darkness! Oh, I do want to be a really useful instrument in the hands of the Saviour! May He Himself make me such! How greatly I would rejoice, as would the rest of us, if the Saviour, by means of our humble labors, would find among these heathen a great many as a reward of His sufferings, and they would be thus brought to a knowledge of the truth. With the help of the Saviour, I will do my best to follow the good advice which you gave in Br. Kluge's letter. Help me pray to the Saviour, whose power is made perfect in weakness, that He should grant me, as the least of His servants, the needed strength and wisdom for the faithful discharge of my office, so that I may always do and think and act as is worthy of a servant of God and a follower of Jesus.

Concerning the inner course and growth of the little congregation, Brother Kluge has written you, therefore, I need not mention that again. We both wish, however, that our people might set the heathen a more attractive example, and show them what the Saviour has done and is still doing for us, so that the savages, too, might be led to leave their sins and abominations and yield themselves to their God and Saviour.

In regard to the love between us, I am happy to say that we live together like one family, and love one another most heartily. In spite of the fact that this love may be intercepted, now and then, if rashness leads the one or the other to do something which he should not, we soon forgive each other again, as is the will of the Saviour, and the bonds of love are stronger than ever.

I moved into my house in June, soon after the logs had been laid in place and the bark roof had been put on it. Since then I have worked hard over it and now everything is about finished, with the exception of the chimney, doors and windows. These things will be attended to before winter sets in. I will live in a roomy little house all to myself this winter, which has not been the case thus far, either in Goshen or since we are in this place. This not only makes it more comfortable all around, but it is also more suitable. Both our houses and the garden are surrounded by a picket fence, which we built this spring. It took a great deal of labor to prepare our garden, so as to be able to plant things, because it was covered originally with a heavy growth of thickets. This year we planted cabbage, turnips, and other vegetables. These did not turn out very well on account of the drought this summer. The soil where our station lies is not particularly rich, but fortunately without stones. By working it and by fertilizing, we hope to improve it considerably. The country around here is very level; even far in the distance, no hills that are worth mentioning can be seen. Still the banks of the river are quite high, and generally, directly opposite those places where they are highest, there are large plains or bottom lands.

Especially fine wood is found on these plains, as for example, walnut, cherry, poplar, linden, maple, and many other kinds, which I never saw before, and consequently do not know. The small wood generally, consists of the crab apple, plum, and other trees. There are also white thorns. In this neighborhood one sees many grapes, which are small, but have a very pleasant sour taste. Not only in the lowlands but also on higher levels there are found astonishingly numerous blackberry bushes, so that the earth is literally covered with them. It is very difficult to go about in the woods, because these bushes almost tear the clothes from one's body. This fruit, however, is very useful. The Indians dry the berries in large quantities and later bake them in corn meal, which, to them, is a great delicacy. Sr. Kluge tried to make wine from the blackberries, and it turned out successfully. This will serve a good purpose in soup or the like, when one is ill.

Br. Kluge told you all about the location of our place as well as about the Indian towns along the river, so I do not have to mention that. There is a great deal of wild game in this community, as for example, bears, deer, wild cats, panthers, foxes, otters, beavers, raccoons, the last named being exceedingly plentiful, so that an Indian often catches as high as five and six hundred in one winter. The skins are sold to the traders, who allow them a dollar for one skin in exchange for wares, which are fearfully expensive. The Indian women are also busy in great numbers with this catch. For a bear skin they usually get from a dollar and a half to two dollars; for a deer skin a dollar; for a pound of beaver hair a dollar; and for a good otter skin four dollars.

From Fairfield as well as from Goshen, we have heard the good news that the liquor traffic had been checked by legislation;[6] that they had nothing more to suffer there from that source; and that they were already enjoying the good fruits thereof. With us it is greatly to be desired that similar measures be taken. But, since in this country, not the traders but the Indians themselves sell whisky in as high as one hundred gallon lots in the towns along the river, such laws as in Fairfield and in Goshen, would bear little fruit. We have heard a number of times that the whisky traffic between the Indians and the white people would be wholly prohibited by the Government. Should this be really done, then surely the greatest hindrance to the cause of God would be removed, for it is simply indescribable how the Indians cling to this terrible whisky drinking. When strong drink is brought into their towns, they will not stop until all is gone, even if there is a hundred gallons to begin with. They give the shirt from their back for the last drop. When one comes into one of their towns at the time of such carousals, most of them are naked and practicing every imaginable abomination. A drunken spree like this seldom passes without some of them losing their lives. There were a good many examples of this kind this summer. Thus far, none of them have brought whisky into our village, because they know that, with us, the stuff is prohibited. This, too, is the principal reason, why most of them do not want to hear anything of conversion, because as they say, in that event, they must drink no more whisky and also give up their other heathen practices. Oh, that the Saviour would have mercy on these people and wake them up out of their deep sleep of sin, and make them see and feel that they will be eternally lost if they are not converted to Him, and the Devil and his works renounced!

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[6] By an act of March 30, 1802, Congress empowered the President to take measures to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors among the Indians. Apparently in Ohio advantage had already been taken of this. Harrison received instructions to suppress the sale in Indiana Territory and issued a proclamation to that effect on October 24, 1802. See Introduction, 18.

We rejoiced greatly when, for a while, it seemed as if it would be possible for us to tell you that the fever had spared us this year, but before we knew it, we were all down with it and our old troubles began again. Sr. Kluge, of the adults, took it first and her sickness was attended with the most violent vomiting mingled with blood. As may be imagined, this was very hard on her, so that she had to remain in bed almost constantly, while it lasted. Soon after, I took the fever and had vomiting spells, too, but not quite as violent as hers. A week later Br. Kluge had the fever. This was on the ninth of October. He had a severe attack, similar to the kind Sr. Kluge and I had. In a short time all of us were in bed.

Carl Friedrich, who had been feverish the whole month of August, is sick now, no doubt from the fact that he is still being nursed by his mother, and in consequence, gets the unwholesome nourishment. The fever was also very violent among our people, the beginning of this month, so that there are only a few who were spared the trial. One sees nothing but pale faces. This is not only the case among our number. All along the river, the Indians are having a great deal of sickness, and almost everyone has either had the fever or is having it now, which shows that there is an epidemic here. This we can expect every year and we will have to suffer for it.

Such attacks of sickness as we had this fall, which have come for the second time already, are good tests for us. If the Saviour would not again and again renew our courage, we should be plunged into despair, for we almost succumbed under the pressure of the large amount of outside work, especially during the time of our sickness. At that time, first one and then the other had to do the housework, and look after the cooking and other duties, or we should have suffered the most dire want. At the same time, our outside work, as for instance, the harvesting of the fruits of the field, must be attended to, if nothing is to spoil for us of that which was planted with a great amount of hard toil. We cannot get help here of any kind, and we have to see to it that our work is done, be it ever so hard.

Nevertheless, we would gladly endure all things, no matter how irksome, which the service of the Saviour brings with it in the proclamation of the gospel to the heathen, if only we would win souls for Him, and if we had the joy of seeing an increase, from time to time. But as far as growth is concerned, the prospects are still very unpromising. It frequently seems to us that we are laboring in vain and that the purpose of the Saviour is not being fulfilled. This gives us many unhappy hours and causes us to sigh to the Saviour that He should waken the heathen all around us from their deep sleep of sin, in which they still lie so quietly, that they might turn to the saving gospel, which they now have in their midst. Amid all these discouraging prospects, we beseech the Saviour, in childlike faith, to strengthen our courage and faith, so that we may continue the work which He has entrusted to us.

With schoolkeeping I have made several attempts, and although the number of children is very small indeed, I will nevertheless rejoice and take pleasure in teaching them. If they only took more pleasure in school themselves and the parents would encourage them more, and would not, after the manner of Indians, drag the children about with them everywhere they go! If they come for a month or longer, after that they stay away from school an equal length of time, and consequently forget all that they learned. Still I will try again this winter, and will do my best to keep them at it. There are really only two of our baptized children who can go to school; the rest of the children in our midst are merely sojourners. These have friends here, as for example, the children of our Indian Sr. Mary's daughter.

Now I have written you, in detail and confidentially, something of everything. The Indian, Allemi, a brother of the well-known Chief White Eyes, is here at present. He will go to Philadelphia, by way of Goshen, where he wants to receive the payment for a certain tract of land. He intends to return in the spring. Br. Kluge did not write to you about our sickness, because at the time of writing we were all well, which, however, has changed among us, as I have already told you in this sheet. At the time of the departure of these letters, thank God, we are fairly well again, with the exception of Sr. Kluge and her little son, who are still sick. The Indian Allemi will leave here the first of October. I forgot to mention the date before, for which reason, I give it here. I received Samuel Reichel's letter and found a great deal of pleasure in it. I would like to write him a few lines in grateful acknowledgment, but the time is too short to do it now.

Give him, however, my heartiest greetings. My wish is that it may be well with him.

In conclusion, I greet you, your dear wife and children, all the brethren and children in the Hall, as well as the brethren Winkler and Stadiger, most heartily. Very particularly do I greet the Helpers' Conference, and the Elders' Conference in Nazareth, to whose prayers and remembrance before the Saviour I commend myself, and am

Your faithful brother,
ABR. LUCKENBACH

WHITE RIVER, March 20, 1803

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your dear letter of Dec. 18, 1802, the weekly reports of the U. E. C., No. 26-33, the monthly report of the Helpers' Conference, and a textbook were received safely, Jan. 26, by way of Cincinnati, to the great joy of us all. We thanked the Lord for bringing all these things to us in safety, and especially do we appreciate the textbook, for which we had so longingly waited. As glad as we were on this account, we were sorry not to receive an answer to the three letters which had been sent to the Helpers' Conference, addressed to Br. Van Vleck. We are therefore uncertain whether or not these letters reached you safely. With the first of these letters, I sent to Cincinnati, in April, the station diary and the diary of our journey, where they were mailed. The second of the letters I sent in June and the third with an Indian captain, to Goshen in October. From your dear letter, I learned that the last named, in which there was also a letter to Br. Cunow, reached you. If the occasion offers, please let us know whether the first two letters and the diaries arrived safely.

With the exception of the above-named reports, we received only the weekly U. E. C. reports, No. 1-7, and the monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference, No. 1-4.

We would be very sorry to be denied the rest, and beg you most urgently to send us the missing ones, if possible. In this wilderness, these reports serve as a great encouragement, because we take the heartiest interest in all that happens throughout the Brethren's Unity. So, too, would we beg you to send us the synodical report, if it is possible.

To our great joy we learn from your dear letter that in you, our dear Br. Loskiel, we will have our future correspondent. In the name of us all, I can assure you and your dear wife, of our heartfelt interest and prayers to the dear Saviour in connection with your heavy service in this country, with the sincere desire that the Saviour may very powerfully support you in all that you do. In all your labors, you may rest assured of our hearty love and support, however little that may mean.

I take great pains with our correspondence so that you and the other brethren of the Helpers' Conference may know at all times just what the situation is here, in order that you may understand it properly. How this is to be accomplished, sometimes makes me wonder, and often I have the suspicion in my mind, that my letters do not suffice to give you a clear idea of everything, for which reason I often wish that I might spend half a day or so in your midst, in order to discuss by word of mouth our post here. Then, dear brethren, I would know that you understood our plans clearly, which may not be the case by merely depending on my letters for information.

Meanwhile, I will do the best I can to describe conditions as they are. This time I can tell you the following: The 14th of November, we had the joy of baptizing into Jesus' death, an Indian woman of the Pottawatemi nation, as the first fruit of her people. She received the name of Theresa. At the time of the baptism, the presence of God, our Saviour, was very consciously felt, and to the baptized woman it was a momentous occasion, and to our great joy she lives in the spirit of the gospel. This year a child was born to Br. and Sr. John Thomas and baptized. Two old widows, who were baptized by the Brethren in olden times, moved to us and were received into the congregation, one of them being also readmitted to the Holy Communion. Besides these, the following others moved to us from the heathen: a married couple; a widow, with a little girl nine years old, who is her grandchild; a young Indian woman, who is the daughter of our Indian Sr. Mary, whose husband deserted her with five children; all told, eleven persons. All of these live in our village on trial. We are very anxious that they should become Christians. Our constant prayer is that they may live worthily, and our petition to the dear Saviour is especially earnest, because we know how fickle and unstable the Indians are.

At the close of the year 1802, the little Indian congregation consisted of twenty-five persons; therefore, nine more than last year. From this you may judge that conversions among these numerous Indian nations are not very plentiful. Nevertheless, we are thankful to the Lord for these few. If only they remain faithful and become the reward of His suffering. In spite of all our burdens, from within and without, which often rest very heavily upon us, by the grace of God and as much as lies in our power, we will strive to be untiring in our gracious calling. Frequently, when the burden becomes too heavy and our courage threatens to fail us, we turn to the Saviour in prayer and supplication, and He cheers and comforts us again. Sometimes the anxious thought suggests itself as to whether our feeble service among the heathen here will ever amount to anything as far as the Saviour is concerned. So far, there is little evidence of it. We cannot help but wonder whether in the end all efforts and expenses will have been in vain. At the same time, we comfort ourselves with the thought that the work in which we, though all unworthy, are engaged, is the Lord's, and that what to us seems impossible is the least of His works.

During the holidays and especially at the transition from the old to the new year, as also at Epiphany, the Saviour revealed Himself graciously to us all. There were present at all these festival occasions a large number of heathen, especially women, as hearers of the Word of God. Our Christmas Eve and New Year's services were well attended, there being over fifty present. Many of the heathen present at the Christmas Eve love feast noticed the corn bread, which is used as a rule on such occasions, distributed among the hearers, so when New Year's Eve came they brought their own bread along. Everything passed off very orderly and very impressively. For Christmas Eve, Sr. Kluge had made little candles for the children, which were distributed among the little folks and gave them great pleasure.

At present, there are few Indians at home, for they go four or five days' journey into the woods for hunting, and when they return home in spring, there are few days on which they are not drunk. Even the chiefs have whisky brought into the towns, because this traffic is to them, above all others, the most remunerative, for the Indian gives up everything, yea, his last shirt, for whisky. Unfortunately this whisky drinking here is the principal hindrance to the conversion of the heathen, because they are hardly ever in full consciousness while they are at home.

The most painful to us is the fact that our Indian brethren, who came here with us from Goshen, do not deny themselves strong drink. Not only is their intercourse with the heathen hurtful to their own souls, but their sinfulness is a stumbling block to the unbaptized, because these say that Christians are no better than they. Although we use every precaution and do our best to guard against this evil, we seem to accomplish little. Those who crave strong drink use every pretext to sneak into the heathen villages. It seems as if it was almost impossible for them to shun association with the heathen. Whenever they have been away, there is usually something sorrowful in store for us. We cannot do anything further in the matter than to pray without ceasing and to admonish them in love, all of which we surely do with much earnestness and great patience.

At present all our Indian brethren are busily engaged in boiling sugar. We white people have also prepared ourselves a place for this industry, not far from the station. In this way we will try to supply ourselves with sugar, which is an expensive article in this community. We made thirty pounds of good sugar in one week. No matter how hard things come on us, we are constantly on the watch to save the mission money. Even then it costs the mission diaconate a great deal.

Several days ago, we had the misfortune of having our cow die, which was a great loss to our household, in that she had given birth to a calf a short time before, and all of us were glad that we could now get some milk and butter, because everything which one does not produce one's self is either very expensive or cannot be had at all in this place. In this way, too, our Indian Br. Jacob lost his horse. Concerning our location and the reason why we settled where we did, I have written before in different letters, and especially in one to Br. Van Vleck. From these letters I trust that you, dear brethren, may learn our situation from the time that we came here. Should I have forgotten to mention something which you would like to know, please tell me and I shall be ready at all times to explain everything in my power.

Thus far we are all well and dwell together in sincere brotherly love, which helps to make things easier in this lonely place and also makes our being here pleasant, for which I am grateful to the Saviour. I know nothing further to write about this time. We greet most heartily all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and all the brethren and sisters of the congregations, who remember us in love, and commend ourselves to the prayers of all our dear brethren and to their remembrance of us before our dear Saviour. My dear wife greets yours with much love, and I embrace you and greet you with the tenderest love, as

Your faithful brother,
J. P. KLUGE

P. S. In the list of things sent to Br. Van Vleck, the following were forgotten: 1. A pair of woolen mittens for me, and a pair for Br. Luckenbach, which we need for the coming winter. Last winter was exceptionally cold, so that Indians living here for eight years cannot remember such cold weather. 2. Two pairs of drawers for me; some colored flannel for an overcoat for our little child. Our diary for the second quarter I will send by mail from Cincinnati, at the first opportunity.

WHITE RIVER, April 12, 1803

MY TENDERLY BELOVED BR. LOSKIEL:

Your dear letter of February 4, besides the accompanying monthly reports for the month of December of last year and of January of this year, were received safely to the great joy of us all. They arrived on April 6 and I thank you most heartily for them all. From your precious letter I learn that you desire to hear from us quite often, which is surely in accordance with our wish. As far as we are concerned a letter once a month would not be too frequent, if there were only more opportunity to send to Cincinnati, but on that account the matter is often prolonged. This is the only reason why you do not hear from us and our station as often as you would desire and we would like.

You have no doubt received by this time my last letter of March 20, which I sent you through Mr. Ziegler in Cincinnati. In the most simple way, I tried to tell you in that letter both the pleasant and the unpleasant things which happened last year, because I know that you and the other dear brethren take a deep interest in all that transpires here.

If I could write nothing but cheerful things about our station, it would be much pleasanter for me, but since this cannot always be the case, I believe, dear brother, that it will not seem strange to you, if, in a confidential manner, I tell you everything, the sad as well as the encouraging, that comes to pass in our midst, from time to time. Especially do I feel that I can do this, because I know that you are an experienced servant of Jesus and can easily imagine that many grievous and saddening circumstances must arise at a new mission among heathen like ours, who are still in the deepest sleep of sin, and among whom the Great Enemy is still on the throne and worshiped.

The text which you drew for us for the New Year was very encouraging, and greatly enlivened our hope. With the consciousness of our unworthiness, we resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to witness faithfully among the heathen concerning the sacrifice of Jesus, in which alone there is grace and forgiveness of sin, and we covenanted anew, to continue our labors as long as our dear Saviour wanted us to remain here, and would bless our witness concerning Himself, in answer to our prayers. Consequently, we patiently wait to see if, in His own good time, it will be possible for us also to reap with joy.

Thanks to the Saviour, we are all well at present, and we dwell together in the fellowship of sincere brotherly love. The Saviour graciously revealed Himself to us, His needy ones, both during the reading of the Passion of our Lord and at happy Eastertide, so that we experienced anew the fulfillment of the words, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them."

Since my last letter so many sad things have occurred in connection with our post, that our hope for growth has been decidedly weakened. The first of these discouraging occurrences is this,—the old widow who moved here from the heathen with her grandchildren, last fall, became sick during sugar boiling time, whereupon she had herself taken to her children in a heathen town to be treated by a sorcerer. Some time after that she saw our Indian Sr. Mary in the heathen town and told her that she would have herself brought back to us, if she saw that she would die. You remember how I wrote more than once about two old widows, who were baptized by the Brethren of olden times and who came to us about a year ago. In the beginning they showed themselves very anxious to enjoy the Saviour's favor and often wept penitent tears on account of their backslidings. They begged us to be readmitted into the congregation, but now they are growing lax again, and to our sorrow we notice that they are rapidly drifting back to the heathen, from whom they came but a short time ago. At first they could not get done testifying their joy that, in their old age, they could hear the Word of God and dwell among the believers, and now they permit themselves, time and again, to be unfaithful to the Saviour at the instigation of their heathen friends. They are constantly drawn by the allurements of the heathen and then excuse themselves by saying that they are old and weak and consequently cannot support themselves among the Christians, but if they lived with their children among the heathen, they would not have it so hard, as far as their temporal life was concerned. But it is perfectly clear to us, that at the bottom of it all, is their old craving for heathenism. Anything that an old Indian tells them, they readily believe, even if it is a lie of the most apparent sort.

It is astonishing how active Satan is by means of his willing instruments. He resorts to all sorts of deceit to hinder the conversion of the heathen, and leads astray those who have already made a beginning in the faith, weak though they may be. For example, all sorts of liars make their appearance among the Indians, who say that the believing Indians must be very ignorant indeed, that they have to hear every day what the white teachers have to tell them about God; that this was not at all necessary for other Indians, because their forefathers had once told them how to live, and they still remembered it, even though they had heard it but once; and that every Indian must act accordingly. They saw that the Christian teachers put forth every effort to make the Indians tame, and warn each other not to believe their words, because, as soon as a large number of Indians had become tame, they would call in the white people and kill them all, as had been done on the Muskingum, when so many of the believers were killed, which they claim they had not forgotten. Many other lies are constantly circulated, so that we feel like sheep in the midst of wolves, and may well cry out: "Lord, who hath believed our report?"

I have already told you how strongly our Indian families, who came here with us from Goshen, are drawn to all sorts of heathen practices and sins in this Indian territory. They do not seem able to resist the temptations with which they are surrounded, and even seem to drift toward heathenism again. Some of them really go after the pleasures of the heathen, which causes us a great deal of pain and trouble.

Our interpreter, Br. Joshua, lived in constant strife with his wife Abigail, for quite a time, and since his wife is very quarrelsome and has been acting quite indifferent lately, and has her wicked daughter, who mingles with the heathen, living with her, Abigail recently left her husband and is now running around with her daughter. There will be new trouble in store for us, because Joshua will surely want another wife.

John Thomas and his family have also given us a great deal of pain, because they show plainly that they incline more strongly to the heathen than to the congregation and the Word of God. Though it was just four weeks before Easter, they went away to the Indian town, twenty miles away, under the pretext that they wanted to get corn. We begged them not to go, and urged them especially not to miss the Easter festival, and they promised, too, to be back in good time for that, but they remained away nevertheless. We heard that nothing prevented their return, but we know what kept them—they love the pleasures of the heathen more than the pleasures of God. You may easily imagine how we feel under the circumstances, dear brother. The inconsistencies of the Indian brethren rest more heavily upon us than anything else that we have to experience here. This is the situation at our station as it is at the present time. The Lord grant this sorrowful season may soon be turned into a time of joy. To that end, help us to beseech the dear Saviour, so that the Great Enemy may not succeed, in spite of all his insidious attacks, and that the cause of God may be victorious in this place also.

Br. Cunow advised us that we would soon be able to get a horse for the purpose of making the necessary journeys to Cincinnati and visiting among the heathen. We are to draw the money for the horse from Mr. Ziegler, after the usual manner. I mention this now, so that our dear brethren will not be surprised at the close of the year, when they find that our expenses have been greater this year than ever before.

The diary from April, 1802, to the end of March, 1803, accompanies this letter. In it you will find, dear brother, that the prospects for the conversion of the heathen were hopeful at times; that many heathen signified their intention of moving to us, and still not one of them has come thus far. This makes us feel sometimes as if we should recall everything we ever wrote in regard to the matter. And yet it was true at the time.

For this time, I know of nothing further to communicate. In the name of us all, I greet most heartily our brethren of the Elders' conferences and especially our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and herewith commend all of us to the prayers of our dear brethren and their remembrance of us before the Saviour. Br. Luckenbach sends his best regards to you, dear brother.

My dear wife greets yours, and I embrace you with tender love as

Your faithful brother,
J. P. KLUGE

P. S. Just now I had the pleasure of receiving letters from the Brethren Zeisberger and Heckewelder, on the Muskingum. The letters were brought by nine Mohican Indians from the state of New York, who have come here to the Delaware chiefs on some land business.[7] They came over from Goshen. When these letters left Goshen, January 10, all there were well, with the exception of Sr. Mortimer who, at the time of writing, was sickly.

WHITE RIVER, April 14, 1803

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER VAN VLECK:

Your precious note of January 8 under cover of Br. Luckenbach's letter, I received March 15, to my great joy and I read it with pleasure. But we were very sorry to learn that you had sent various letters and reports for us, for which we have waited a long time, but which we have not received. I refer to your last letter of Oct. 24, 1802, besides the enclosed monthly reports No. 5-9 and No. 8-25, 1802, as well as the weekly reports. Up to date, we have not received anything of this matter. It is to be supposed, therefore, that all of these things are lost.

I wrote you three letters to which I have not as yet had an answer. I sent you a letter together with our diary, in April, one in June, and the last one in September of last year. That the last two letters reached you safely, I learn with pleasure from your note, but I am still uncertain whether the other letter and the diary fell into your hands. I asked Br. Loskiel about the matter. To our regret, I presume that many things sent us have been lost on the way.

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[7] See *ante*, 222-23, and note.

The contents of your note gave me a great deal of comfort and encouragement in my calling of grace. Your comforting encouragement and hearty assurance, together with that of your co-workers, awoke anew in my heart the desire to consecrate body and soul to my dear Saviour and His service, for which He has graciously chosen me, although I am often conscious of my weakness and inability. When the Great Enemy is very busy, as he is at the present time, to make fruitless the proclamation of the gospel, and seeks to cast us down by means of all sorts of hindrances, the assurance that He, our Saviour, is the strength of the weak, comforts me always, as well as the thought that His power is made perfect in weakness. Therefore I pray to Him that He should graciously be our strength, and attend the Word of the atonement by His Spirit and power, whereby we may overcome all difficulties and hindrances of Satan.

I was very glad to learn that my last letter gave you and the dear brethren satisfactory information in answer to various questions in connection with our post. It was encouraging news to hear that you had hopes that the United States government would take measures to prohibit the destructive liquor traffic among the Indians. Oh, how well this would be! Then there would be hope for the cause of the Saviour in this community.

You also informed us that you were really no longer our correspondent; that Br. Loskiel had taken your place. I want to thank you most heartily, dear brother, for all your faithful efforts in the interests of our post, and I beg you at the same time not to forget us, and, if your work permits, to rejoice our hearts further, from time to time, with a letter, and we, on our part, will be only too glad to answer. I have written in full in regard to present conditions in a letter to Br. Loskiel, which I trust you may be able to see. Unfortunately, the description was not at all encouraging. Meanwhile, we continue to hope that the Saviour will again crown our labors with joy and that, in consequence, we may be able to give you, dear brethren, more encouraging news.

Thanks to the Saviour, we are quite well, and dwell together in heartfelt brotherly love. Our old Indian Br. Jacob, who recently had his eye hurt in the woods so that we greatly feared he would lose it, sends his kindest regards to you. In conclusion, please extend our most hearty greetings to Br. and Sr. Stadiger and Br. and Sr. Schnals; also to the brethren of the Elders' Conference, and to all who may inquire after us. My dear wife greets yours, and I embrace you with much love as

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, April 21, 1803

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

After I had made a little package containing our diary and a letter to you and Br. Van Vleck, and was just about to send it to Cincinnati, I received quite unexpectedly and to my great joy, your precious letter of March 13 and No. 2 of the Helpers' Conference monthly report, besides an English textbook. Who it was of the dear brethren who sent us the last, I have no idea. There was nothing in your letter about it, neither in the textbook itself, but we take for granted that it came from Bethlehem, and accept it with pleasure as a token of love and remembrance, and herewith thank the brother who sent it most heartily. Very particularly do I thank you, dear brother, for your writing again. Your letters always give me pleasure and encouragement in this our great separation from the rest of the world, and it is clear proof to me that you really take a deep interest in our work. The monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference and the weekly reports of the U. E. C., yes, everything, we received with a great deal of joy, because we take a heartfelt interest in everything which takes place throughout the Brethren's Unity.

In the month of March, I wrote you a detailed letter and forwarded it to Mr. Ziegler, for further delivery as soon as convenient. I hope you received it safely. I also wrote a letter with full particulars on April 12 and put it in a package with our diary, and I will send both to Cincinnati with Brother Luckenbach, who will mail them there. Br. Luckenbach goes to Cincinnati on business. He will draw some money from Mr. Ziegler in the usual way, because the money drawn in the year 1801 is now nearly all.[8] He will also embrace the opportunity to look around for a horse, since we need one badly for these journeys, as well as for the outside work. In a letter from Br. Cunow, we received the consent of the dear brethren long ago to buy a horse. For this reason we will draw eighty dollars in Pennsylvania money, for the purchasing of a horse will take a good deal of that amount. With the balance of the money, we will be as saving as possible and will keep a strict account of every outlay.

Since a detailed letter accompanies this, I have nothing further to write this time. So far, we are all well and dwell together in sincere love. We beg you to greet most heartily all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference as well as all the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences. Br. Luckenbach sends his best greetings to you. My dear wife wants to be remembered to yours, and I embrace you especially with much love as

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, July 4, 1803

MY DEARLY BELOVED BR. LOSKIEL:

Your dear letter and the enclosed monthly report of the Helpers' Conference, No. 3, I received to our great joy on the twenty-sixth of May, and I thank you most heartily for both. I hope that my two letters of March and April and our diary have reached you long ago. It will be a great satisfaction to me when I learn that you received everything in good shape.

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[8] This expression, still used in Pennsylvania German communities, means that something has been quite spent or consumed.

From your letter, I learn with a great deal of pleasure of the tender love and interest which you and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference have for us and our work. This is a great encouragement to us. In the name of us all, I thank you heartily. You may feel assured that a letter from you, dear brethren, is always a great comfort to us.

The news that a new church building would be erected in Bethlehem gave us great joy, and we will remember the project in our prayers to the Saviour, and earnestly beseech Him to bless you powerfully and sustain everyone connected with the enterprise.[9] What we learned from the monthly report of the Helpers' Conference was also a cause for praise and thanksgiving to the Saviour, who so beautifully helps His own and reveals Himself to them under all circumstances. For this, thank God, we may also praise our good Saviour as far as we are concerned. He graciously helps us through every heavy trial that presents itself, even though we cannot see the way, and He sustains us in all that we do, giving us courage and strength, so that we often consciously feel a sense of His nearness. This raises our courage and strengthens our weak faith again and again.

We white brethren, the dear Saviour be praised, are quite well and live together in heartfelt love, which all of us regard as a great blessing from the hands of our good

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[9] In 1803, in Bethlehem, the construction of a new church was begun which, on its completion, proved to be the largest church in Pennsylvania at that time. On March, 1803, at a meeting of the boys and men it was agreed that the excavation of the building should be undertaken by volunteers gratuitously. On April 13, they began their work. The corner stone was laid April 16, with much ceremony. The interior, however, was not finished completely until May, 1806. Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 569 ff.

Lord and Saviour. We always have our hands full with all the things which must be done. This spring we were not only busy with our own work, as for instance, building fences and planting and the like, but we also had to do a great deal for our Indian brethren, who could hardly help themselves at all, because they were sick around planting time. They suffered a great deal from sore eyes, boils, and a number of other ailments common among old Indians. Old Br. Jacob hurt his eye badly while in the woods, which caused him great pain for several months, and even now he cannot see anything. Because they are nearly all old and, in consequence, hardly able to get along when they are well, we simply had to make the best of the situation and built a fence around their fields, so that they may after all plant corn for themselves, which is the principal article of food among the Indians. All this was hard on us, not having any outside help. We are therefore all the happier that we have attained our goal, and not only we, but also our Indian brethren, have their fields fenced and full of nice corn and other things. We had often wished that something might be done to provide our Indian brethren with fences so that they might plant a great deal, and at the same time have protection from the cattle and horses of the heathen roaming about in great numbers. If they themselves make a fence, it is just about as good as no fence at all, because the cattle can easily get through it everywhere, and then eat up the corn. As a result, there is a famine. This is the case every year among the heathen, and unfortunately among our people, too, especially this year, for they have had no corn of their own for two months, and consequently have to run around all over to see where they can get some. They have to pay a dollar a peck, so that there is a great deal of want and discontent among them. When they are at their wits' end, they expect help from us, which is something that we cannot do very well, because our own subsistence costs you, dear brethren, enough as it is. I mention all this, so that you may, more and more, get a better idea of our situation, dear brother, and see that we have to contend with difficulties of all sorts.

The inner life of our few Indian brethren and sisters is far from what it should be, and we must have a great deal of patience with them. Nevertheless, we often see to our great joy that the work of the Spirit of God is going on in their hearts, and that our labors are not entirely in vain. At times, there are comforting tokens of this, which again stimulates our sinking courage.

There has been greater quietness in our village this summer than ever before. Without our doing anything, the Lord has removed a couple of bad people,[10] who gave us a great deal of trouble from within and without, because of their wild and disreputable actions. This had a good effect on our few Indian brethren and the peace of God is more evident among them.

In the Indian town four miles away from here, there has been hardly any drunkenness among the heathen for quite a time, and in consequence we do not hear nearly as much of their wild actions as we did the previous year. The old Indian widow,[11] of whom I wrote in my last letter, how she became sick in the sugar hut and had herself taken from there to her heathen friends, soon after had herself brought to us in a canoe, and more sick than ever. With tears in her eyes, she begged permission to live here again and to enjoy the hearing of the Word of God, promising that she would surrender herself wholly to the Saviour. We allowed her to stay and she could not do enough to show her joy. She wept aloud and prayed to the Saviour. In this state of heart she remained and constantly begged for baptism, which favor was granted her, too, when we baptized her into Jesus' death, on Ascension Day. She received the name of Elizabeth. The time for her baptism had been set for Whitsunday, but she could not wait that long and beseeched us daily to be baptized sooner, for which reason her request was granted on Ascension Day. The presence of God was manifest and a joyful spirit reigned. The newly baptized, however, is still sickly, and it looks as if she had consumption, and her recovery is extremely doubtful.

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[10] This probably refers to John Thomas and his wife, Catherine.

[11] Quietintis.

Sr. Theresa, of the Pottawatami nation, who was baptized last year, took her first communion July 2. This means of grace meant a great deal to her. Since her baptism she has remained in a happy mood without interruption, so that she gives us a great deal of joy. For the present, nothing can be said concerning the growth of the work. The heathen indeed visit us quite frequently, but at present there are few who look to the Saviour with a view of accepting Him. Meanwhile, we preach in hope the saving Word of God.

In this connection I would like to ask a question, and I would greatly desire an answer soon. In my last letter I told you the unpleasant matter in connection with Joshua, our interpreter, and his wife, Abigail, namely, that she left him. She returned recently and expressed her deep regret that she left the congregation, in her impatience and dissension with Joshua. But, under no condition, does she want to live with her husband again. We also have no pleasure in forcing her to it, because she left him more than ten times in one year and we always brought them together again. But this will no longer work, for they are both at fault and they really cannot bear one another. The question, therefore, is this: what shall we do with her? Joshua excuses himself by saying that she left him and that he was not to blame. And she does not want to return to him. Still she does not want to leave us. Are we permitted to let her remain here? Can we allow her to enjoy the means of grace in the congregation, under the circumstances? For this reason, I thought it would be out of the question to have anything further to do with her, nevertheless, I would like to know your opinion in the matter, so that we may know how to deal with this difficult case.

The other question is this; the heathen are so loath to put aside their heathenish mode of dress when they move to us. They never object to the request that they must not paint their faces, but they do not want to give up their silk-ribbon trimmings and beads and things with which they love to bedeck themselves. Shall we insist that they must put these things aside? Br. Zeisberger told me that he never allowed anything of the kind on the part of those who desired conversion, which is something, however, which is not desired here. I would like to know what you think about this matter. In the Indian congregation in Surinam, we did not deal so strictly in cases of this kind.

In June, Br. Luckenbach made a trip to Cincinnati and drew eighty dollars in Pennsylvania money, for which amount we gave Mr. Ziegler a note on Br. Haga, in Philadelphia. The horse which we bought by permission of Br. Cunow, is the reason why a larger amount was drawn than in the past two years. We greatly need a horse, and Br. Luckenbach took great pains in looking about the vicinity of Cincinnati and Fort Hamilton, for a good one, which should not cost more than sixty dollars. He found what he was looking for, and this necessitated the outlay of fifteen dollars more for a saddle and bridle. In addition to this, there was quite a bill standing against us in Mr. Ziegler's store, as a result of necessary things bought, from time to time, last year, which had to be charged. If you add up all these expenses, I hope that you may easily see that we did not draw too much for our sustenance for this year and that there will not be much of the amount drawn left over. We are constantly on the watch to be as saving as possible, but everything is very expensive here. We keep a faithful account of all our expenses, and any time you desire it, we can furnish you an itemized statement.

I would like to inform Br. Van Vleck that I received his letter of Oct. 24, 1802, as also the weekly reports of the U. E. C., No. 8-25, and the monthly reports of the

Helpers' Conference, No. 5-9. All this afforded us great joy. Br. Luckenbach brought the letter and things from Fort Hamilton, where they were handed to him by a hotelkeeper. We had regarded this letter as lost, therefore the pleasure was all the greater.

If you have the opportunity, kindly greet Br. Haga for us, and in the name of us all, thank him most heartily for the ten dollars, which he had Mr. Ziegler, in Cincinnati, hand us in his name as a present to us. In this connection, we would ask to have sent to us from Philadelphia, if possible, a little bell even if only a hand bell, wherewith we may call our people together for the services. In Cincinnati, there is nothing like that to be had.

In conclusion, I would mention yet for sympathetic remembrance, that my dear wife is living in tender expectations, and expects their realization in the fall. She commends herself especially to the prayers of your wife and her remembrance before the Saviour. I know of nothing further to write, except to send our hearty greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and to the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences, and to commend ourselves to their prayerful remembrance of us before the dear Saviour. Br. Luckenbach sends you hearty greetings. My wife sends special greetings to your dear wife, with much love, and I embrace you as

Your tenderly loving brother,

JOH. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, October 26, 1803

DEARLY BELOVED BR. LOSKIEL:

I greatly desire to hear if the three letters which I sent you by mail this summer reached you. Thus far, I am still uncertain and therefore worry about it a good deal. We are also anxiously awaiting our articles of clothing, which we ordered about a year ago. We need them very much; in fact, for quite a time, we have suffered great need. Thus far we have not heard or seen anything of them.

We are hoping, however, that they may have already reached Cincinnati, and that Mr. Ziegler merely has had no opportunity to let us know about it. For this reason, Br. Luckenbach will make a journey to Cincinnati to find out from Mr. Ziegler whether or not our things have arrived.

On the whole, we have been fairly well this summer, but the beginning of September all of us suffered from fever. Fortunately, it has always happened that one or the other of us was well, so that he could attend to the most necessary things. Our few Indian brethren and sisters were sick, too, so that it looked pretty discouraging among us. In general, we have it very hard as far as the outside work is concerned, because we do not have the least assistance from anyone, the old Indian brethren having all they can do to look after themselves. Therefore, we must do everything ourselves, if we do not want to suffer want. This not only takes all of our time, but it proves very bitter for the most part, especially when we are sick, as has been the case every fall so far. In spite of the fever, which attacked us severely this fall, we must harvest our corn and garner the other fruits of the field.

But notwithstanding all this, we would not mind the hard manual labor, if only the poor, blind heathen in whose interests we are here, would incline their hearts to the Saviour. For this, however, there is unfortunately little prospect up to this time. We notice no desire among the heathen to hear the saving Word of God. In the beginning, many of them promised to move to us, but evidently they did not mean it, because they never kept their word, and now we do not hear anything further about it. It is astonishing how quietly and peacefully they grovel in the deepest sleep of sin and every imaginable abomination. They are full of prejudice against the cause of the Lord. Satan and his followers do their utmost to keep the poor people in the slavery of sin. They advance as an excuse, the murder of the believing Indians in Gnadenhütten, and say: "The white teachers were to blame that our friends were murdered, therefore we will take heed that we are not made tame, too; otherwise we will fare likewise." Others say: "We have another skin, therefore our teaching must be different, too. This teaching our fathers gave us and it is ours to abide by it." This Chief Pachgantschihillas himself recently said in our house, and contended that the Indians had to hold fast to their customs and not believe that which we were teaching, for this was meant only for the white people.

Judging from this, you may easily imagine how we must feel. We are often thoroughly discouraged and know nothing else to do than to weep and pray and wonder what shall come of it all. The sweet consolation of the Saviour alone renews our sinking courage. Oh, how often have I fervently wished to talk this matter over with you, personally, because it is difficult to know just what to write, so that you may get the proper idea of our post! I have this confidence in you, dear brother, that I can tell you freely just how I feel. I must therefore confess that I often thought, if it was according to the will of the Saviour, that I would like to be called away from this post and be used elsewhere in the service of the Lord. This I would like very much. I have sacrificed a great deal of my strength already since the beginning of this station, and am not of a strong constitution as it is. It is also hard on my wife, who is all alone, to wash for us and Br. Luckenbach, and to attend to all the other duties which turn up in keeping house. Especially hard is it on all of us, because there are so many seasons here when there is sickness.

The real reason, however, for all that I have here told you concerning me and my wife, is this: the prospects for the conversion of the heathen in this community are daily growing more dark, and, for the time being, we feel that there is little hope. This causes us great pain and robs us of courage. The sad thought frequently comes to us that all our efforts have been in vain thus far. That, however, may be a mere notion. I write you this, dear brother, with the sincere hope that you will not take it amiss. If you think it proper that we should remain longer at our post, we will persevere with renewed hope and, as hitherto, spare no efforts to do all we can to help the cause, believing that, if it is the will of the Lord that we should stay, He will also attend us with His gracious presence. I would be very glad to have you declare yourself in regard to this matter and favor us with your advice. It would put our mind at ease.

We and the Indian brethren were richly blessed this year with corn, for we had an abundant harvest. We white brethren alone had in our field containing an acre and a half, sixty-five bushels of corn and twelve bushels of potatoes, besides a large number of good-sized pumpkins, for which we are very grateful to the Heavenly Father. We frequently make ourselves a sort of bread from pumpkins and corn meal, which tastes quite good to us, and at the same time saves the flour which we have to buy. The pounding of the corn is hard work.

In August, all of a sudden, a report was circulated among the Indians around here that the white people were coming and would kill everyone. This caused a great commotion among the heathen. Women and children were at once taken far into the woods and the young Indian men roamed about in large numbers, singing their bloodcurdling war songs. They also sent messengers to our Indians to try and persuade them to take flight. On the other hand, we regarded this raging of the heathen quite coolly, and commended ourselves to the faithful protection of our Saviour. In a few days, it was shown by a number of Indians coming from the chase that the rumor was false and quiet was again restored.

I want to report further that the dear Saviour presented us, September 1, with a little daughter, who was baptized next day and received the name Henrietta. My wife enjoyed the gracious help of the Saviour in her confinement, in that, the day before the birth of the child, she had a serious fall while hanging up the wash. This gave us cause for great alarm, but apart from the fact that the delivery was hastened, there were no bad results. Truly the Lord helped us in a wonderful way. After she had recovered a little from the confinement, she took the fever as hard as either I or Br. Luckenbach ever had it. This lasted for four weeks and weakened her very much. Now, however, thank God, all of us are fairly well again, and live together in sincere love like one family, which blessing we acknowledge with grateful hearts before the Saviour.

In conclusion, we greet most heartily all brethren of the Helpers' Conference, as well as the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences, and all who, in love, think of us, and we commend ourselves and our station to their prayers and remembrance before the Saviour. Hearty greetings from my dear wife to your dear wife, and I embrace you particularly with much love as

Your faithful brother,

JOH. P. KLUGE

Br. Luckenbach sends hearty greetings to you likewise.

WHITE RIVER, April 5, 1804

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your beloved letter of the twenty-eighth of August, of last year, was received, November 17, to our great joy, and we read it with a great deal of pleasure. First of all, let me heartily thank you for your love, interest, and faithful advice. I should have liked to answer your letter for a long time, but as I did not have an opportunity, all winter, to send it to Cincinnati, to my deep regret, I had to wait until now. We were very much interested to hear that you intended to visit the Muskingum, and you may rest assured that our prayers to the dear Saviour will attend you and your dear traveling companions on the journey, and in Goshen.

Your wish that either I or Br. Luckenbach might attend the General Mission Conference to be held in Goshen is mine also, because I have longed to have a conference with you in regard to our post. For that reason, we were all the more sorry that your dear letter came to hand too late, as you will judge from this. If this had not hindered unfortunately, I would have undertaken the journey to Goshen with a great deal of pleasure. If one takes the trail through the woods, with which the Indians are well acquainted, the journey can be made on horseback in ten or twelve days. Although none of us could be present in person at Goshen, we were with you in spirit all the time you were there, and now we eagerly await the minutes of the mission conference which was held there.

Your beloved letter of January 8, besides the monthly reports, No. 11-12, was received on March 24, to our great joy. To my great sorrow, I learned from your letter that you had written to me August 3 and September 8 also. These letters have not yet been received. We greatly rejoice over your safe return to Bethlehem from the Muskingum and thank our Saviour for His gracious protection over you on your journey. For your faithful interest, and that of the other dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference in us and our post, as well as for the kind wish for the New Year, I thank you and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference most heartily, in the name of us all. We earnestly hope that the dear Saviour will fulfill your wish for us and for our post, this year. Oh, how great will then be our joy on all sides!

Your thoughts, representations, and advice in answer to my last letter, in which I expressed the desire, if it were in accordance with the will of our Saviour, to be released from this post, cheered and comforted me greatly, but it also filled me with shame to think that I had shown so much discouragement and so little faith, especially so when I reminded myself of His gracious help since we are here. By the grace of God, I will therefore continue at my post with patience and fidelity, as long as the Saviour sees fit to leave me here. Come what may, even though the prospects for the conversion of the heathen were never so dark, we will trust Him, with whom nothing is impossible, more than ever before. Pray for us, dear brethren, that we may be comforted under the most trying circumstances.

Most of us suffered a great deal from fever this winter, especially I and my wife. We had it at three different times, and that more severely because of the unusually cold weather. At present, thanks to the dear Saviour, we are all in excellent health again and live together in sincere love, which we regard as a special blessing from the Saviour and acknowledge it as such with grateful hearts.

To the discordant life of Joshua and his wife, Abigail, God Himself has put an end, in that Abigail passed away during the previous month. But not in our village, which is our greatest regret. The reason why she did not die here is this: she wanted to bring to our village two of her grandchildren who live in a far-distant Indian town, because their mother died a short time ago. Abigail had been sickly for a number of years, and for the last year or so she was especially weak, therefore we begged her not to undertake the intended journey, but, in spite of all our remonstrances, she remained steadfast in her purpose and began the journey. She got only ten miles, however, where she became very sick in a sugar hut of an old Indian woman, who was baptized by the Brethren in former times. After some days, poor Abigail died, without our hearing a word about it until she had been buried. A heathen woman brought us the news. Although we are very sorry that none of us could be with her when she died, we comfort ourselves with the thought that she told us before she left that she would always remember the Saviour and pray to Him, and that she would soon be back again. We hope and wish with all our hearts that she may have gone to the dear Saviour, as a poor, needy sinner.

The prospects for the conversion of the heathen are still the same as they were when I wrote last. Meanwhile, we live in comparative peace from without, and the dear Saviour reveals Himself to us, His poor servants, and permits us to enjoy a conscious experience of His gracious presence, which comforts and cheers our hearts above everything in this loneliness. The time of the incarnation of our Saviour, the transition from the old to the New Year, and especially the richly blessed Lenten season, were to us and our members times of blessing. The deep impression made by the great love of our Saviour for sinners, which led Him to His death, kindled our hearts anew with the earnest desire to consecrate ourselves, body and soul, to His service.

Since that time, there are always some of the heathen present at the services, especially on festival occasions. We proclaim to them the Word of God at every opportunity. We resolved to visit the heathen in all their towns around planting time, when most of the Indians are at home, in order to find out, if possible, whether some may be found after all, who are seeking after God, and would like to hear the sweet gospel. We commend our purpose to your prayers and remembrance of our Saviour.

A short time ago, I received a communication from Mr. Ziegler, in Cincinnati, stating that our long-expected articles of clothing had at last reached his place, on Christmas Day. According to his letter, the things are packed in six little boxes. Br. Luckenbach will, therefore, go to Cincinnati to bring the things, and at the same time to draw, in the usual way, fifty dollars of money for us.

The past winter was unusually cold, for which reason no white people at all came with flour to these parts, so that we did not have a handful of flour in the house all winter long, and in consequence had to pound our corn like the Indians, so that we might have our daily bread. At the same time, we were happy in spite of it all, and regarded it as suitable to our condition. The pounding is hard work, though. Since then, we procured flour, but it is extraordinarily high, namely, six dollars a hundred, which is now the usual price here. Herewith you will find enclosed our diary from April, 1803, to March, 1804. In conclusion, we greet heartily all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and all the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences. My dear wife sends much love to yours, and I embrace you with especially tender love, as

Your faithful brother,

JOH. PETER KLUGE

P. S. I earnestly beg you to send us, if possible, a few printed Indian hymnbooks.

WHITE RIVER, April 7, 1804

DEARLY BELOVED BR. LOSKIEL:

Although I do not have the pleasure of knowing you personally, your note of August 2 gave me great joy when it reached me, and aroused in my heart love and gratitude toward you. I was glad to learn that you remembered me so lovingly before the Saviour at the Single Brethren's Festival. I thank you most heartily, dear brother, and I would humbly ask you to continue praying for me and remembering me before the Saviour.

Thanks to the Saviour, I have been well and happy thus far, and I am fully resolved to spend my days in the service of the Saviour, and that in some useful way as in His sight. I desire nothing more than so to do and think as He would wish it in the unfolding of His plans, in this place. Nevertheless, I often find cause for shame before the Saviour on account of the many times in which I fall short in His service. A feeling of discouragement and inertia takes possession of me at times and makes me grow weary in my calling. This causes me great pain and unrest, until the Saviour, by His conscious presence and gracious encouragement, again strengthens my faith and courage, and permits me once more to enjoy His peace, whereupon I am very grateful to Him, with all my heart, for my gracious lot, and everything becomes light to me.

In regard to the learning of the language, I cannot say that I am making much progress. It seems to come very slowly. I know just about enough of the language to make myself barely understood by the Indians. This causes the thought to arise in my heart that I am more useless to the Saviour than I would be if I could talk the language fluently, and, with the help of the Saviour, preach the gospel to the Indians in their own tongue. It is difficult to learn the Indian language here, at least quickly, because our people are no assistance to us whatever in regard to the outside work. All the building operations and farm labors fall upon us. We have not much time, therefore, for the learning of the language, because we have to go after our other work and consequently do not get together much with the Indian brethren; only now and then, as it happens.

We tried to make use of Br. Zeisberger's translations in our effort to learn the language, but we found that they were not of much service to us here, because he mixes the Monsey and the Unami. For instance, he will use a Monsey word or expression, then employ Unami again, which is not only confusing, but when one remembers a Monsey word and uses it in trying to speak to the Indians, one will not be understood, because here nothing but the Unami is spoken. N.B. The Delaware language has three different dialects, namely, Monsey, Unami, and Unalachtikos, or as the Unamis call it, "Woapamachkis," which all of them can understand pretty well. In themselves, however, the dialects are very different. Still I would be very glad, and really desire it very much, if I could have one of Br. Zeisberger's Indian translations of the little hymnbook.

In regard to our outside work, everything goes the even tenor of its way according to the season of the year. The general appearance around our station is that of a small farm, with appointments adapted to the circumstances of the family that lives on it. We are often hard pressed to do everything satisfactorily, because there is a great deal to do and to look after, as is natural in a place like this. However, to the praise of the Saviour, we must confess that He has kept His hand over us in every way, and graciously sustained us beyond all expectations. He has helped us thus far most wonderfully, so that we cannot praise and thank Him sufficiently for all that He has done for us.

After having made two unsuccessful journeys to Cincinnati for our expected goods from Bethlehem, I will make another attempt in a few days, the Lord willing, because we have been notified by Mr. Ziegler that our things arrived safely on Christmas Day. At such times when I make these journeys, I also have much cause for gratitude because of the Saviour's protection and escort on the way. He is my only companion, because I usually make the trip alone. I thank Him heartily that hitherto He has kept me safe, on the way to and from Cincinnati, and He will surely do it this time, also.

And now, dear brethren, I have nothing further to write this time, because Br. Kluge has written to you in detail about our post. Our diary, too, will be sent at this opportunity, so that it would be useless to repeat the contents. I most heartily agree with what he wrote in regard to your visit to Goshen and Gnadenhütten. I thank our dear Saviour that this important undertaking could be carried out so satisfactorily, and that He brought you and your dear traveling companions back again to Bethlehem, in health and safety.

In addition to kind greetings to my relatives, please greet for me the Brethren and Sisters Benade[12] and

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[12] The Reverend Andrew Benade, educated at Barby, came to this country in 1795. In 1800 he became head of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem where he remained until 1813, when he accepted a call to the pastorate of the church at Lititz. In 1822 he was consecrated a bishop. *Historical Sketch of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem . . .*, 15,

Schaaf, Franz Thomas[13] and all inquiring friends. In conclusion, I greet most cordially you and your dear wife, and the Helpers' Conference, and remain with much love,

Your faithful brother,

ABR. LUCKENBACH

WHITE RIVER, October 12, 1804

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your beloved letters of Jan. 8, Feb. 19, and April 15, which you mentioned when you wrote last, I received safely, and I thank you most heartily for them, dear brother. Oh, how gladly I would write to you quite often, if I only had the opportunity of always sending or going to Cincinnati myself! But there unfortunately lies the difficulty. That is the only reason why you do not receive as many letters from me as both you and I would like. I had letters for you in readiness all summer, hoping that an unexpected opportunity might arise to send them to Cincinnati, but to no avail. And even now Br. Luckenbach will have to make the journey principally on account of our letters, so that you may at least have some news from us before winter sets in, and learn how things have gone since we wrote last.

Br. Luckenbach brought from Cincinnati the articles of clothing which were sent us, and to our great joy, we received everything safely and unharmed. The only trouble is, that the shoes for my little Carl have become too small, because of the long delay, and consequently he cannot wear them. Br. Luckenbach learned in Cincinnati that our clothing articles were not sent with Mr. Ziegler's goods, but with those of another Cincinnati merchant, and that from Pittsburg to Cincinnati. This merchant

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[13] Francis Thomas was connected with the stewardship of the Young Ladies' Seminary. Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 632.

kindly turned over our things to Mr. Ziegler without charging anything for freightage, for which Br. Luckenbach thanked him most heartily, in the name of us all. The reason why our things, which were sent last year, and which we now received, were on the way so long is, as we have learned in Cincinnati, because they reached Pittsburg too late. The Ohio is very low in August and September, and for that reason boats are seldom able at that time to float down the river from Pittsburg. Most of the boats from Pittsburg to Cincinnati run in spring, and, as we learned, Mr. Ziegler had already received his goods in June of last year. At that time, our goods were in Philadelphia, or at least not yet in Pittsburg, according to Mr. Ziegler. In accordance with your wish to know the reason for the delay, you may judge, dear brother, what it was. In regard to the articles of clothing, I would say further, that we did not find among them what we had ordered in addition, in a letter written to Br. Van Vleck, a long time ago. We conclude, therefore, that these things were forgotten, because they were mentioned merely in a letter, and not on a separate card. But since we need the things very much, we are compelled to send an order for the coming year, at once, with the earnest request that they may be sent at the earliest convenience.

For the clothing and things, we render our heartiest thanks. We also thank you and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference for the sincere interest and efforts shown in the behalf of us and our post. Since my last letter to you, we have been fairly well, with the exception of my wife and child and Br. Luckenbach, who last month suffered from fever for eight days. Since then, my wife is troubled with blood boils, of which she had at one time more than twenty on different parts of her body. She is still suffering a great deal from them. For the rest, we live together in sincere love, which to me, in our sorrowful circumstances, is a special favor of the dear Saviour, and I thank Him most heartily.

Our few old Indian Christians are more sickly than usual this fall, so that we hear daily nothing but complaints, which makes it harder for us. Because they have no Indian help in this place, they expect us to help them with their outside work, in spite of the fact that we are without assistance ourselves. Consequently, we have our hands full, so that we sometimes do not know where to turn. We have worked unbelievably hard already for our Indian brethren these years that we are here, and, under these trying circumstances, we always hoped that there would be some converts from among the heathen, so that the outward circumstances of the Indian brethren might be relieved, in that they and we should gain some assistance, and there would be gathered for the Saviour a reward for His sufferings, which would comfort us sufficiently and cheer us, too, for all the hardships that we have endured.

Unfortunately, the longer we are here, the more the prospects for the conversion of the heathen seem to vanish, so that we really have cause to fear that our few Indian Christians will pass away before any of the heathen will be converted, or what is still worse, that the few Indian brethren will be led astray by the allurements of the heathen. One of the families which moved here from Goshen has already set the sorrowful example. They intimated that they would find their way back again to Goshen, but we have since learned that they are now living among the heathen. All this causes us great sorrow, so that we can do nothing but pray and weep, and wonder what will come of it all.

I often thought that it would be not only well, but necessary for me to make a journey either to you, dear brethren, or to Br. Zeisberger, in order to consult with you in regard to matters here. We all feel persuaded that a conference of this sort would be of great value. It would ease us and afford us encouragement. We seek nothing else than what the dear Saviour wants of us and our station, and what will aid in the furtherance of the Saviour's cause. What we can do toward this end, we desire to take upon ourselves with all our hearts, be it ever so hard or connected with the greatest difficulties. I should, therefore, be very glad if you would tell me what you think about the desire mentioned, and also give us the mind of the other dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference in the matter.

A Cherokee family consisting of five adults has stayed around here since the month of June. So far, we cannot say much about them except that they are raw heathen, and it would seem that they themselves do not know what they want here. Although we tried our best to reach them with the Word, so far we have not noticed on their part the least desire to change their lives and to let go of heathenism.

Outwardly, things go well with us. We and our Indians had a rich corn harvest, for which we thanked our Heavenly Father in a childlike manner. This spring, we carried out our intention to surround our whole plantation with a good, strong rail fence. This work was undertaken in common with our Indians, but the heaviest part of the work fell on us. I and Br. Luckenbach alone split five hundred rails and set them up. Although the work was heavy, we and the Indian brethren are all the happier for it, because we accomplished what was highly necessary. We can now plant in peace and without fear that our corn and that of the Indian brethren will be ruined, as has been the case more than once during the years we have been in this place, by the cattle which are constantly roaming about here.

With our knowledge of the Indian language, thank God, we have progressed so far now that we can speak with the Indians in regard to those things which are necessary in our intercourse with them. Thus far we have not received anything from Goshen, though we earnestly wish that we might receive the minutes of the General Mission Conference which was held there. We should like to have also a copy of the little book entitled "Instruction for the Brethren and Sisters among the

Heathen." Perhaps you could send us one, dear brother. I am well acquainted with it, and have often read its contents. On the other hand, Br. Luckenbach is not acquainted with it, though he would very much like to read it for himself, so as to become acquainted with the points that it contains.

If it is possible to send us the congregational reports, we would be heartily glad to receive them, because we would very much like to have them. We would also like to know how matters look in regard to the Cherokee plan. We are very grateful to you, dear brother, for so punctually sending us the monthly reports. We surely take a deep interest in everything that is going on.

I do not know of anything further to write, than to beg you to give our hearty greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, as also to the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences in our congregations in this country, and all who in love remember us. Special greetings to your dear wife from mine and me, and I embrace you with much love as

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

Br. Luckenbach also sends hearty greetings.

WHITE RIVER, November 22, 1804

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Very interesting and agreeable were your two dear letters, the one of July 29 and the other of September 16, which I brought this fall, together with other letters, from Cincinnati. Their contents served this time also as the source of great comfort and encouragement to me, for which I herewith thank you heartily.

In your last letter you express the wish to know for what purpose I used my own money which I drew through Br. Cunow. I had wanted to tell you in the spring and had a letter ready for that purpose, but the opportunity to send it did not present itself, therefore I could not attend to the matter. The reason was not, as you might imagine, dear brother, because I lacked clothes or other things with which the mission ordinarily provides me. This spring while I was on my way to Cincinnati I stayed overnight with a man who had recently moved to this country from Kentucky; he offered me a horse for thirty dollars in cash. This was an unusually low price for a horse in these parts. He told me that he would soon return to Kentucky and bring all his horses, of which he has a large number.

This was such a good opportunity to get a good horse that I concluded to buy it at my own expense, because I had not said anything about the matter at home. I wanted the horse for my use on my journeys as well as on other occasions, and believed that the Helpers' Conference would have no objections. But things did not turn out as I had thought; for the man did not keep his promise, because, as he said, he could not find the horse when he wanted it. I therefore do not have it yet, and it is doubtful whether I shall ever get it. Should this be the case, then I shall hand over the money to the mission, and the original sum may in this way be restored again to its original place.

I know of nothing further to write this time, since a long letter, in the name of us both, is on its way to you. Kindly greet all my relatives, and also the Helpers' Conference, most heartily, and I remain as

Your faithful brother,
ABR. LUCKENBACH

WHITE RIVER, November 23, 1804

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your precious letters of July 29 and September 16, besides the enclosed monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference, No. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, were received November 2, to the great joy of us all. Br. Luckenbach, who had gone to Cincinnati on business and who came home on the above-mentioned date, brought them. He inquired of Mr. Ziegler about the lost letters of Aug. 3 and Sept. 8, of last year, but learned nothing further than that they undoubtedly must have been lost in going out from Cincinnati.

The communication between us and Cincinnati is only at very rare intervals and even then cannot always be depended upon, because Mr. Gordon, who used to bring us flour from Fort Hamilton, is dead. Since then, no white people come here to us, which causes us perplexity because of the interrupted correspondence with you. But we do not know how to change matters, for the present, for to make the journey to Cincinnati just for the sake of a letter would be both too expensive and too tedious (that is, if it were to be done frequently). If there were more opportunity to send to Cincinnati, you would hear much oftener from us, dear brethren, than has been the case heretofore.

From your two dear letters, which I now have before me, we learn anew to our great comfort and encouragement that you and all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference are sincerely interested in us and our post. I thank you, dear brethren, in the name of us all, most heartily.

I have the pleasure to inform you that we have at last received the long-expected minutes of the General Mission Conference held in Goshen. This great joy came to us quite unexpectedly. Br. Heckewelder also sent us other letters which had been sent to us, in his care, at Gnadenhütten. We had been hungry for them for so long that we immediately began the reading of them. With the sincere prayer that the dear Saviour should ever remain to us a lasting blessing, He, our dear Lord, did not permit us to come to shame, for in the reading of the minutes we had the consciousness, that our dear Lord and Saviour had surely been in the midst of His servants and guided them in all their transactions. Though neither of us, to our great sorrow, could be present in person, we can say to all the transactions, yea and amen, and extend to you and the dear Saviour our heart and hand, with the assurance that, by the grace of God, we will strive to live up to all the points contained in the minutes, and to fulfill punctually that for which we have pledged ourselves in this lonely place, and to do it all in sincere love. I thank you heartily, dear brother, and all the other brethren of the Helpers' Conference for sending us the minutes.

You undoubtedly received my last letter which was written in October. It contained the list of articles of clothing needed for the coming year. In the same, I communicated, among other things, our wish to talk over our post with you in person, either with the brethren of the Helpers' Conference or with dear Br. David Zeisberger, in Goshen. Our only purpose is to have the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference consider our post before the dear Lord and Saviour, in order that it may be determined what shall be done with it in the future. What shall we think or say? Not the least desire shows itself among the heathen for the saving Word of God. Thus far we have proclaimed the word of the atonement, hopefully and prayerfully, but in all this time of three years and a half, no one could be found, save four old Indian women who were baptized in olden times, three of whom have already died, who has been willing to be converted out of darkness into light, and out of the power of Satan to God, and naturally we feel very sorry about it. We often feel that all our efforts and expense must be in vain, here.

Our Indian brethren are likewise discouraged, because they live here so long and as yet have seen no growth. The fact that there has been no increase makes it hard for us and for them. In a short time, they will no longer be able to support themselves at all. Their heathen friends make use of such circumstances as these in their effort to draw them away from us. They put forth a great many temptations, which make strong appeal to people like our Indian brethren, little grounded as they are in the faith. We have reasons to fear that in the end, the heathen will succeed, unless the Saviour should show special mercy to our Indian brethren and sustain them in their weakness.

One of our Indian families, last year, under the pretext that they were going to Goshen, went among the heathen, where the husband and the wife are now living in a state of separation and doing all sorts of wicked things. How we feel under the circumstances, you may easily imagine, dear brother. At present, we still have with us the following Indian brethren and sisters: Jacob and his wife, Mary; Joshua, and Theresa of the Pottawatami nation, together with her old Frenchman, who does not belong to us. These four persons are communicants and really compose our little congregation. Apart from these, there live here Indian Sr. Mary's daughter, who recently married a Cherokee, and her five children, and the Cherokee family. The last we would be only too glad to get rid of, if we only could, because they are becoming more and more burdensome to us on account of their heathen actions. They do not in the least regulate themselves according to the rules of our village, and conversion they desire not at all.

Since we have no Indian brother whom we could appoint as helper, we, ourselves, can do nothing more with such rough people than plead and admonish. If they obey, well and good; if not, we must make the best of it, which is not always easy and causes us a great deal of trouble. Therefore, dear brethren, we beseech you most earnestly to consider our post before the Lord and Saviour, which will contribute greatly toward the quieting of our fears. When we receive the advice of our dear brethren, or hear what the direct will of the dear Saviour is in the matter, we will regard it as coming indeed from the Lord, and in childlike surrender to Him will follow His beckoning hand and do His will with all our heart.

In the diary and in my letters, sent to you recently dear brethren, as well as in this letter, you may learn what is to be hoped from the future, or what still remains to be done. Should you, dearest brethren, understand the situation fully as it is, so that you would feel able to consider the matter before the Saviour, in that event it would not be necessary that either of us should come to you for a conference, for the absence of one from here for any length of time would be attended with great difficulties. But should you feel that you were not sufficiently acquainted with conditions to consider the matter before the Saviour, perhaps you might communicate the points on which you were not clear, and I might then give you the necessary information.

And now, dear brethren, do not look upon this thing as if we were quite weary and discouraged, or as if we were merely anxious to get away from here. That is not at all the case. But we consider it our duty to let you know, dear brethren, exactly the way we feel in regard to our post, at the time, and our one desire is to act in accordance with the mind and the will of our Lord and Saviour, whom we, poor servants, have the privilege to serve. We are anxious to have His wish in regard to us and our post fulfilled. We earnestly desire nothing else than that which the Saviour wants to do with us. In childlike faith, we want to yield ourselves, by His grace, to His holy will.

Thanks to the dear Saviour, we are otherwise quite well, and live together in hearty love and peace, which we acknowledge with grateful hearts as the favor of the dear Saviour. In conclusion, we send hearty greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and humbly remain in love,

Your brethren,
J. P. KLUGE
ABRAHAM LUCKENBACH

P. S. After I had the above letter finished the following happened: In the summer, the Delaware Chief Pachgantschihillas had forbidden the Indians to hear the

Word of God. He also forbade our Indian Sr. Mary, whose near relation he is, under any circumstances, to send her grandchildren, (which according to Indian custom are also his grandchildren,) to our school, because he did not want them to become Christians. Two days ago, however, he sent us the following message: "Brethren, do not remember any longer that I forbade my grandchildren to go to school. Perhaps I was drunk at the time when I said that, therefore forget it. My desire and will is that they, and any children whose parents desire it, shall go to school, and that they shall learn everything very diligently which you teach them in your language, as reading and writing, and perhaps, I may see the day when my grandchildren are able to write. Then I will be very happy over it."

Ever since we have been here, the chiefs have made similar promises, but they have soon changed their minds and never fulfilled them. If the Chief really desires what he said he did, time will tell. Suppose heathen who do not live in our village should want to send their children to our school, shall we accept them and give them instruction?

An Indian brother told us not long ago that a Delaware chief had said to him recently, that Governor Harrison had asked the chiefs, when they were in Vincennes, concerning us, and that he had said that the teachers whom they had among them, were there of their own accord; that the President or gentlemen of the government did not know anything of their presence, even as he did not know what the Christian teachers wanted. If it is really true that the Governor spoke in this fashion to the chiefs, or whether they made it up themselves, we cannot tell. At the same time, I thought it best to let you know about the matter, dear brethren. I would like to have your advice, and especially would I ask, if you think it necessary that we write to Governor Harrison, or will you, dear brethren, look after this yourselves?

This reputed utterance of the Governor seems all the more strange to us, because we know that he was notified from Goshen in regard to our being here, and everything in connection with it.[14] Once again, dear brother, very heartiest greetings in love from

Your faithful brother,
J. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, April 28, 1805

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Since my last letter to you, Nov. 23, of last year, I have longed for an opportunity to go to Cincinnati in order that I might write to you, but thus far all efforts to bring it to pass have been in vain. The principal reason why there are so few opportunities to send to Cincinnati at present, is the smallpox which is raging there, wherefore all our communication is for the time being cut off, because the Indians, as you may know, are terribly afraid of smallpox. This is also the reason, we presume, that we have not had a letter from your dear hand, since last fall. We have not received our textbooks either.

Since we have waited so long for letters from your dear hand, we cannot bear it any longer, and now that there is no longer any danger from smallpox, Br. Luckenbach will make the trip to Cincinnati in the very near future, both for the getting of our letters and also to procure fifty dollars for our expenses. This money will be drawn on Br. Haga, in Philadelphia, through Mr. Ziegler, in the usual way.

My last letter to you, which we both signed, I hope you received safely and thereby learned what our circumstances were at the time. Conditions as they were then, to my great sorrow, have not changed and I have nothing more encouraging to write, because the situation at our post is now always the same, unless it be that it grows worse day after day. There is not one among the heathen here who asks after God, or who desires to hear the Word of God, and we notice to our great pain, that even some of our few Indian Christians become unbelieving toward the Saviour, which unfortunate thing never yet showed itself as clearly as it does now.

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[14] The letter to the Governor is printed *ante*, 63-64. Harrison evidently received it for he mentioned the missionaries in his letter of July 15, 1801, to the Secretary of War. Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, 1:30.

Our Indian Sr. Mary, who has suffered from consumption for quite a time, gives us a great deal of concern and sorrow. At first, it seemed as if she were submissive to the will of the Saviour in her affliction, but now she and her old husband, Jacob, have lost all faith in the Saviour. We feared this for a long time, because her heathen friends, of whom she has a large number in this community, visited her constantly and sometimes remained with her for days, meanwhile seeking to influence her with their heathenism, especially in regard to the heathen way of doctoring. They presented to her in the most dazzling light that she could be made well again, and this temptation proved too strong for her, ungrounded as she was in the faith. The harm of it all soon showed itself very clearly. Without exception we visited her daily ever since her sickness, and even more often. We pointed her to the Saviour, comforted and admonished her constantly to remain true, and to place her whole confidence in the Saviour with whom alone she should seek rest and help, because all other help was vain. At first, it seemed as if our earnest admonition had made an impression on her, but all of a sudden, in the most unexpected way, she told us that she desired to hear no more from us, because the Word of God could not cure her body anyway; that her friends had promised to make her well, and she would have herself taken to them. She further said, that we should let her entirely alone, that she herself knew what was good for her; that while still among the heathen the sorcerers had cured her as many as forty times or else she would have been under the ground long ago; that she had not forgotten these things. Every loving remonstrance proved fruitless, especially since Chief Pachgantschihillas, who is her uncle, had said that if we would not allow her to leave, he would drive us away. They got ready, therefore, and on the Great Sabbath at that, and went away with her in a canoe to take her to Chief Pachgantschihillas, who had sent Indians to assist in the bringing of Mary.

How we feel under such circumstances, you may easily imagine, dear brother. Though Jacob and Mary said that they would return, we cannot think of it without the greatest pain, for they will commit the grossest sin. We do not know what to think or say in regard to our post. This is in every way a time of severe test. Much of our time is spent in prayers and tears, and in the pouring out of our hearts to the Saviour, because He is our only comfort in this school of patience and sorrow.

Recently, the heathen teachers began to come to the forefront, to confuse the poor, blind heathen still more and to keep them in the power of Satan. They clothe their teaching in all sorts of pretended virtues and most strongly recommend heathen sacrifices. They say that their teaching came direct from the Great Spirit, who had recently appeared to a woman and told her that the Indians must live after their ancient manner, keep the sacrifices and by no means believe anything else. This teaching makes a great impression on the Indians, at the present time. They often resort to the heathen teachers in great numbers for the purpose of hearing the narration of the old woman's foolish fable, in which connection they spend eight days and nights in sacrificing and dancing and drinking. They live in constant fear, because the old woman told them that they would all perish, if they would not live up to the letter in everything that she had said.

This spring, we suffered a great deal from coughs, cold in the head, sore throat, and kindred ailments. Now, however, we are quite well again, thanks to the dear

Saviour, and dwell together in sincere love. The winter here was unusually cold. All winter long we had no flour at all, because it simply could not be had anywhere. But now we have some. We pounded the corn and from the meal baked our daily bread.

In March, we had a great deal of rainy weather, from which such floods ensued that the oldest inhabitants of this community had not seen the like. Our planting ground, which has not been under water since we are here, was at that time eight to ten feet under water, and the raging stream took away all the fences around the cornfields of the Indians. This misfortune also hit us, but not as heavily as the heathen, because we found more than half of our rails quite near to the cornfields, on the side of the woods, where they had been caught by the trees.

The sugar making did not go as well as last year, because the weather was unfavorable. Nevertheless, we made a hundred and sixty pounds of good sugar for our own household use, and five gallons of molasses, for all of which we thank our dear Heavenly Father.

Since there are so few opportunities to send to Cincinnati, we will be compelled to take our letters there ourselves; for this reason I should like to ask how often should this happen, special cases excepted? Of course, if we should get an unexpected opportunity to send a letter, we would not let it pass without writing to you, dearest brethren. I would also like very much to have a German A B C book for my little Carl, because nothing of that sort can be had out here.

You undoubtedly know, dear brother, that Br. Luckenbach bought himself a young horse, last year, for his own use and comfort. The horse was very cheap and is very useful, therefore, he wants to keep it for the present. He would like to know, whether he could put the amount to the mission account, should he decide later on to sell the horse?

I have nothing further to write, this time, except that our diary from April 1804 to the end of March 1805 accompanies this letter. Heartiest greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. Br. Luckenbach sends his kind regards to you. My dear wife embraces yours in love, and I do the same to you, as

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, May 21, 1805

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your beloved letters of December 23 and March 3, together with the accompanying monthly reports of the Helpers' Conference, also two textbooks, were received May 12 to the great joy of us all, and I heartily thank you and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, in the name of us all, for all your love and interest in our weal and woe. This cheers us every time. By this time, you have undoubtedly received my last letter, written to you, dear brother, the 28th of April.

In your beloved letter of Dec. 23, you state among other things, that you and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference would like to know how I expected to make a journey either to you or to Goshen. That is a point on which we could not reach a decision either, because the difficulties in the way, which you mentioned, also occurred to us. The reasons you gave fully convinced me that I could not make a journey like that very well, on account of my wife and children. Not so many things would have to be taken into account in regard to Br. Luckenbach's going, though here too there are several difficulties in the way. In the first place, we all have our hands full, in summer, with the outside work. The cornfields, garden and haymaking, and other things have to be looked after, and since we have to do all of our own work, it would be practically impossible for one man to attend to it all, without some things suffering. For this reason, even Br. Luckenbach could not be away for any great length of time, either. In the second place, we do not have an Indian brother at present, who could show us the way to Goshen, and Br. Luckenbach would not like to undertake the journey alone. For these reasons, we long ago saw that the desired interview would have to be regarded as a wish that could not be fulfilled, for the present. Therefore I recalled what had been written in regard to the proposed journey to you or to Goshen, in my letter of Nov. 23. I refer chiefly to the letter of Nov. 23, because we both signed it. From it, you may clearly see what we think of our post, because I described the situation fully, just as I would try to do if it had been possible to have a conference with you, in person.

We desire, dearest brethren, that you should not regard our letter of Nov. 23 as a mere complaint. We consider it our duty to tell you all our anxieties and thoughts in connection with our post, at all times, and tell you just how things are. From this you will understand that we have not the least thought of prescribing to our dear brethren, what they should do, nor of telling them what should be done. That surely is never our thought. For the sake of our own peace of mind, all we desire is to have the opinion and good advice of our dear brethren. With all our heart, we want to surrender ourselves wholly to the guidance of the dear Saviour and to follow your counsel, dear brethren, because we know how poor and needy we are in ourselves, and that we cannot do anything at all, without the support of our dear Saviour and His spirit. Our prayer is, therefore, that He should be graciously with us every day and grant us strength, faith and courage, so that our weak hands will not sink and we become wholly discouraged.

In this connection, I want to ask a question. I learn from your letter that you do not consider it proper that I should leave my wife alone at home. This has never happened yet. But what shall I do in regard to short visits among the heathen or journeys to Cincinnati? Shall I leave these journeys with Br. Luckenbach entirely?

Apart from this, nothing happened since my last letter to you. Conditions are still the same. There is still no fruit to be seen as a result of the proclamation of the gospel to these heathen.

The sick Indian Sr. Mary, whom I mentioned in my last letter, and her husband, Jacob, after they had allowed themselves to be deceived with all sorts of heathen illusions, came back, and she was even more sick than when she left. The most painful of all is that they do not realize the miserable state into which they recklessly plunged themselves, and repent. Shortly after their return home, the patient lost consciousness, so that she could neither speak nor understand anything. In this sad condition she has lain for twenty-four hours now, and her end is rapidly drawing nigh. Death may come at any moment. We are very sorrowful over the matter, and wish with all our heart that she might be able to call upon the dear Saviour for mercy, as a poor sinner, before her end. Would that she might have the desire and the opportunity to plead for the forgiveness of sins!

We acknowledge it with grateful hearts to our Saviour that we are all in good health, with the exception of my dear wife, who has been sickly all spring. As far as outward things are concerned, we have nothing to complain about, with the exception that flour is now a rare quantity and costs eight dollars a hundred, and even at that exorbitant price it cannot always be had. For the most part, we have eaten corn bread so far, but now our corn is all, too. In the meantime, we trust the dear Heavenly Father, that He will grant us at the proper time those things that are needful, so that we shall not suffer want. To His praise be it said, we have experienced His gracious care more than once.

A good, strong rail fence once more surrounds our cornfields, so that we can plant in peace, for which we are grateful to the Saviour, because He gave us the necessary strength to accomplish all this. In regard to our articles of clothing ordered last year, I would say that we have heard nothing about their whereabouts, though we need them sadly, and consequently earnestly hope that they may soon be here.

Finally, we heartily greet all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference and commend ourselves to their prayers and remembrance of us before the Saviour. Br. Luckenbach sends hearty greetings to you. My dear wife greets yours with very much love, and I embrace you with much love and remain, by Jesus' grace,

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, July 3, 1805

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

My last letter of May 21, in answer to your beloved letters of Dec. 23 and March 3, you have received safely, we hope. An Indian from Goshen unexpectedly came here, and through him I had the opportunity to send a letter to you. We are heartily glad for this chance, which we regard as providential. I immediately seized the pen in order to ease my burdened heart by telling you hastily about our ever-increasingly sorrowful situation and the troubles that we experience.

Never before have the heathen shown their intense hatred for the Word of God as they are doing now. They constantly threaten to drive us away. Insult and abuse are our daily portion. And that is not all. Today a wicked band of eight men, painted black and half drunk, came with their guns, tomahawks, and knives into our settlement, and raged like wild beasts and cried that they had come to kill our hogs. Finally they even came into our house and there repeated their intention, with terrible threats. In spite of all our remonstrances, they would not give up their purpose, and showed that they were becoming angrier every moment. It became evident to us that they would like to maltreat us, and when we observed that this was their evil intention, we sought to withdraw ourselves as much as possible and to keep out of their way as much as possible. At the same time, we could not leave the houses, entirely. We had to suffer all this terrible bluster patiently, therefore, and to put up with the raging of these monsters. We had to see them shoot our large hog, before our very eyes, and amid the wildest cries drag it away.

And yet this was not sufficient. They sought to make us angry by the making of all sorts of bad speeches, but we kept quiet. The most painful of all on this dangerous occasion was to see that the two heathen families, namely, the daughter of the recently deceased Mary, and the Cherokee family, who came again and settled in our village, against our will, for no other purpose than to make us miserable in every way, openly helped along, and insulted us with their scornful laughter. This was the thanks received for our patient forbearance with these people, who were a burden long ago, and to whom we have shown a great many kindnesses.

The savages have often threatened us, and now these threats were repeated. They even made a beginning of carrying them out. They told us that if we would not go away from here with the Word of God, they would first kill our cattle, and then devise means to drive us away. Our life is in daily danger, and would not be worth anything, if the hidden hand of the dear Saviour were not over us to protect us against the rage of the heathen. When shall we, poor souls, get any help from these heathen? They have rejected their own chief, who is now in momentary danger of his life. He dare not say anything, and no one would listen to him if he did. Every savage does as he pleases; someone will kill another without suffering punishment and then boast of the evil deed. The greatest miscreant is the most highly esteemed among them. We can, therefore, stay here only at the greatest risk of our lives and all that we hold dear. Joshua, our interpreter, has great fears, too, and under no circumstances does he want to stay here longer. He is the only Indian brother whom we have with us now, and he dare not say any more than we. His days, too, are spent in constant fear and unrest.

The conversion of these heathen is simply not to be thought of, for the Word of God is an offense to them. They do not want to hear anything about it. We are of the opinion, therefore, that our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference must see clearly that our longer stay among this people is quite impossible. We, therefore, earnestly beseech you, dearest brethren, to take to heart our dire need, and consider how we must feel under present conditions, and then, you will surely let us have your decided opinion by the very next mail, and advise us what shall be done with our post; what we shall do and where we shall turn, for we ourselves know no longer what to do or how to help ourselves.

Most of all do I feel for my poor wife and children, who pass their days at present in a state of constant fear and horror, and have no comfort at all. From the human standpoint, if I were alone, I would not think so much of the danger and distress. In that event, if worst came to worst, I could sooner make my escape were I alone. But for a sister it is something terrible, and dangerous, too; therefore, Sr. Kluge fervently desires to leave here before the danger becomes still greater. And this is the earnest wish of us all; this is our urgent petition to you, now. And we do not doubt for a moment that our dear brethren will do their best to help us out of this unpleasant situation as soon as they possibly can. Dire distress is the only ground of our petition. We commend ourselves to the prayers of all our dear brethren. May they remember us before the dear Saviour into whose gracious protection we commit ourselves hourly.

Heartiest greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. We remain in love, by Jesus' grace,

Your faithful brethren,
J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

P. S. Please do not take it amiss that this letter is written so poorly. I wrote it late at night.

WHITE RIVER, August 6, 1805

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Since I wrote to you in regard to our situation in July, an opportunity presented itself to send you a letter by way of Goshen. You will, I am sure, understand our sorrowful condition. I have full confidence in you and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, that you will consider earnestly this post of ours, which, it would seem, is rapidly drawing near the end of its existence. We lack nothing but the consent of the dear Saviour and our dear brethren, or we should leave here today sooner than tomorrow. We are entirely surrounded by a people who simply cannot bear us because of our very color or because we are white people. They are principally enemies and despisers of the Word of God, consequently do all they can to make our lot as burdensome as possible, with the hope that, in this way, we shall be compelled to leave this place.

We had a sad experience of that on the third of July. The Cherokee family who, under false pretense, settled here against our will, prepared a sacrificial feast right in our village, and invited to it all the young Indians of the town four miles away. We did our best in love to hinder them from carrying out their purpose, but it was of no use. They held their heathen abominations right before our eyes, anyway. That they did it principally because they desired that we would give them opportunity to do us injury or to maltreat us, their brutal actions showed very plainly. In fact, they told others that this had been their intention; that they had waited for the white teachers to say something to them, in which case they would have been prepared to give them what they had not as yet experienced. They boasted that they would do in our village what they pleased and would not ask us.

There are people in our own place, therefore, who are our greatest enemies, and that because we had to talk to them several times in regard to the evil of their ways, and reminded them of their promise. The Cherokee family and the daughter of the deceased Mary do not have the least desire to adapt themselves to our regulations, but they would not think of leaving for that reason, because they say that they have more right to live here than the white people. They are trying to incite the heathen against us, though these are hating us cordially as it is, so that all our right shall be taken away and the regulations which are so necessary for every Indian congregation, set at nought. We dare not say much in the face of the greatest disturbance or nuisance, which they create in conjunction with other heathen in our village. We must allow every heathen abomination which they introduce into our place. At the same time, we have to be in constant fear lest they do us injury, for they are constantly threatening to do this, and even have gone so far as to put it into practice, to a certain extent.

The old chiefs, who, as was said at the time, called us here, are no more at hand, one died, and the other was dismissed by the Indians and is himself in constant danger of his life. At present these heathen are given over to their unbridled passions, and everyone does as seems right in his own eyes. We cannot understand how it can be possible for us to remain at this post much longer, because it is out of the question to withstand the disturbances, for the worst part of the heathen has the upper hand.

In addition to this, the heathen who live in the town four miles away are beginning to leave their place, in order that they may build nearer us. With this they have actually made a beginning. This in itself would be sufficient reason why we had to leave this place. Our cattle would no longer be safe, and we should have still more sorrows to experience, for that is their sole object in coming so near. As a result of all this, we have had a number of earnest consultations together, whether we should begin a new place this fall, somewhere else, so that we might be separated from these troublesome and inimical heathen. This consultation, however, brought to light so many difficulties in the way of such a venture, that we decided to hold back for the time being. In the first place, the number going with us would be very small indeed, namely, Joshua and his wife (Peggy). 2d. It would be impossible for us to provide houses for ourselves, before winter sets in. 3d. If we leave here, we shall have to go without our winter provisions and cattle, which would mean that we should experience an unavoidable famine, for Joshua can no longer do any hunting. 4th. We have not been able thus far to find a place on this river, where we have been led to suppose that we might dwell more undisturbed and safer than here, because all arable land is settled with heathen. All this, therefore, led us to give up the thought of locating elsewhere for the present. We shall now await patiently the answer of our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, although Joshua is constantly running to us to say that it would be our own fault, if the heathen abused or injured us, because one could see with half an eye that they had nothing good in mind for us. He often threatens that he will go alone, if we will not leave here.

Dear brother, from this you must see that this station, from necessity, cannot be maintained in the long run. We therefore desire to know the decided opinion of the dear brethren in regard to our post, so that we may know whether our post shall be abandoned or transferred to another place. We desire this information very soon, so that in either case, we may get ourselves ready before winter sets in. We asked a number of times to know what the dear brethren thought of our post, but hitherto we have not had a positive answer, undoubtedly because our dear brethren do not know conditions the way we see them, and because we have given you the opportunity to ask questions. At such a remote place, and especially where there are so few opportunities to communicate with the outside world, these questions and answers consume a great deal of time.

This delay in hearing your opinion in regard to what shall be done with our post, has given us a great deal of grief already, because we do not want to leave our post, save in the most dire need and danger of life, without the consent of the dear brethren. The anxious thought often comes to us that we should have to leave here, without the advice of the dear brethren, if the enmity of the heathen should become still greater. May the Saviour graciously protect us from worse evidences of their hatred!

Herewith we send our heartiest greetings to the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and we very especially commend ourselves to your prayers and remembrance of us before the Saviour, and I embrace you with much love, as

Your faithful brethren,

J. P. KLUGE
ABR. LUCKENBACH

P. S. We have not heard anything yet of the articles of clothing which we ordered last year. For this we are very sorry, because we need them badly.

WHITE RIVER, September 17, 1805

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Since spring, I wrote four letters to you, namely, in April, May, July, and August. With the first one, I sent our diary for the year. I hope and most sincerely wish that you received all these letters safely.

Because we have thus far not had any answer to our letters, from your dear hand, though we greatly desire it, we are just about ready to make a trip to Cincinnati, to inquire at Mr. Ziegler's whether our letters and the articles of clothing ordered last year are not there. I am very sorry that we must wait so long again for these things, because we need them badly.

In the above-mentioned letters, you will see, dear brother, how sad our condition was at the time of writing. Even now I cannot tell you anything more encouraging about it. Conditions here are practically the same all the time, though sometimes we have more rest from without.

These heathen hate the Word of God, they do not care to hear it, and even if some do come to the services sometimes out of mere curiosity, one generally hears scornful and blasphemous words afterwards. The drunkenness and every imaginable abomination always have the upper hand, and get it more and more, and even though one or the other might have a good thought and does not care for the reckless life of the heathen, fear of opposition keeps such poor souls back from conversion. Many of them have told us that they were afraid to give up their heathenism, because their lives would not be safe if they should.

On the whole, it seems as if Satan was practicing every imaginable deceit to keep the poor people in his power, so that we often cry out unto the Lord: "O Saviour, strengthen our faith, because everything is so dark before our eyes." We really have no hope at all that these heathen will ever be converted. And should it happen, that in accordance with the direction of the dear Saviour, our brethren should decide to continue this post, we must then move to another place with the mission, for it is utterly impossible to remain here much longer. The heathen are coming nearer and nearer to us, and have already begun to build within two miles of us. Whither we shall go to find another location for the station, we do not know, because the Delaware nation has no land of its own any more. This fact was announced to them at a recent gathering of chiefs from the Twitwees, Pottawottamis and other nations, in Post Vincennes.[15] The lands along the White River, where they and we live, were, therefore, taken away from them. The nations mentioned do not really want to drive the Delawares away, at the same time the Delawares are very much hurt, so that they threaten to leave, because they have no more to say in regard to these lands. They hate to think that they would be dependent upon the kindness of another Indian nation.

It is quite possible many of the Delawares will move to the Mississippi. We have heard a rumor to that effect from a number of them. We and the Christian Indians are in health, in spite of trouble and sorrow, and live together in love and peace. We have the confident hope that He, our dear Lord and Saviour, will show us a way which we know not now, when the right time comes. Our constant prayer is that He should graciously attend us, and in looking up to Him and His death and suffering, He will sustain us, so that we shall never lack His comfort in the darkest hour.

I do not think of anything further to write, except that my dear wife is living in expectation and expects the realization of her hopes, this winter. She commends herself especially to the prayers and remembrance of your dear wife before the Saviour. Herewith, I send you our diary from April to the end of July, from which you may learn, dear brother, how we fared this summer. Heartiest greetings to you and all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and we commend ourselves and our post to your prayers and remembrance before the dear Saviour. I embrace you with tender love as

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[15] See Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters,* 1:161-66; Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties,* 2:64-65, 80-81; Dawson, *William Henry Harrison,* 56-58, 60-63, 67-68.

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

P. S. If the opportunity presents itself, give my best regards to Br. Stadiger.

WHITE RIVER, September 24, 1805

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER DAVID ZEISBERGER:

Your beloved letter of August 27, together with three hymnbooks, I received safely, to my great joy, September 21, through Charles,[16] and I thank you most heartily in the name of us all. The Indian hymnbooks were a very gratifying present, and I thank you especially for them, and I wish you many rich blessings and strength from the Lord.

You can hardly imagine how I felt when I saw Charles and his traveling companions arrive in our midst, and much less so when he handed over to me your letters. At first I could do nothing but sigh to the Saviour: "Dear Saviour, be very gracious unto my dear, aged David, that he, in spite of all his physical weakness, may still with trembling hand, give us his good advice, and that he may continue to let us see his faithful interest in our circumstances." Therefore receive once more my heartiest thanks for all the trouble you had on our account.

So far we are still at the old place. We had been just about persuaded that we would have to leave before we could receive the advice of our dear brethren, but the Saviour graciously kept us and protected us thus far from all dangers. Our lot is still the same as it was before, though it is really a little quieter, this summer. I see in your letter that you considered our post before the Saviour. The dear Saviour knows what is best for us. It is ours to remain quiet and see what further good He will do, for His ways are always best.

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[16] Charles Henry Killbuck of the Goshen Mission.

We are very glad that you sent a message with Charles for the chiefs. Even if nothing should come of it, they are after all reminded of their old promise. I do not think it would be very difficult to get them to renew their promise, but they would just as quickly forget it again. The people do not in the least mind the chiefs. Each Indian regards himself as a chief. We have spoken more than once to the chiefs in regard to the matter, but they always answered us that the young people were so very *pitschi,* and that was the end of it. Their present chief is a whisky dealer, and the greatest drunkard, namely, Hockinkpomka. What can one expect from such a fellow?

We recently prepared a triple string of wampum for a consultation with the chiefs, of like import as yours, but because the circumstances arose recently that the Miami and a number of other Indian nations, during a conference with Governor Harrison at Post Vincennes, took away from the Delaware nation the lands which they occupy on the White River, and declared that the Delawares no longer had any land of their own, we did not send our message to the chiefs, because Joshua was of the opinion that it would not help us in the least to turn to the Delaware chiefs, because they no longer had any land of their own. I therefore gave this string of wampum to Charles to take along on his mission, because he desired it.

Day before yesterday, the Indian brethren had their interview with the chiefs, and Br. Charles delivered his message in an able manner in the presence of a large number of heathen who had assembled with the chiefs in the Indian town four miles away. Joshua and Jacob were also present at the meeting. Br. Luckenbach has gone to Cincinnati to get our letters from Bethlehem, and therefore could not be present, and because the Indians were of the opinion that it would be better for me not to accompany them, I remained at home.

As much as I have heard so far, the message was well received. I do not know what to make of the answer, as much as I heard of it. They complain that they are poor now because they no longer have any land of their own, and therefore cannot say much any more. Charles, however, is said to have received another answer, which I have not yet heard, at the time of writing. In time you will learn it from Charles himself.

The advice which you offer in your beloved letter, namely, that we should annually greet the chiefs with a three- or four-fold string of wampum, would be well to follow, and this has indeed been our desire for a long time, but we are unable to get wampum around here. The black kind one sometimes sees the Indians wear around their necks and they treasure it very greatly. White strings one does not see at all, so we do not know where we can get some. I always thought we would have some sent from Fairfield, because I learn from Joshua that our brethren there have a great deal of wampum. I would kindly ask, whether it would not be possible to have some sent us from there.

With the sincerest sympathy, I learned from your letter that you were sickly. It is true that you have already attained a great age, and that there is nothing more to expect than that your strength should grow less day by day, nevertheless I pray that our gracious Saviour should keep you here somewhat longer, if this is in accordance with His holy will. This would be for our great comfort and admonition, because He knows, dearest brother, that we are unable to spare you for the good of His cause. Oh, if I might but have the good fortune of seeing you once more in my lifetime! That would be the greatest joy to me.

We are thinking of looking about for another place pretty soon. We are only waiting for the answer of our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. As soon as we have this word, we hope to know just what we have to do. Should we receive word from them that we should stay here longer, we all think that it would be necessary to begin a new station, and that on another creek, where we will be at least from one to two days' journey from the heathen towns. But since the Delaware nation no longer has any land, we will have to turn to the Twettwis or Miami, who own the land around here, to gain their consent. I am sorry, dear brother, that you did not tell me whether we could change our location without first getting the consent of the Helpers' Conference. I would very much like to know that, because I do not like to undertake anything with uncertainty.

Time and circumstances do not always permit us to wait long, and yet at this great distance, we cannot expect anything else than that it will take a long time before one can get an answer from our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. If you would kindly let me know in regard to this matter, I should be very glad. Charles Henry is a dear brother. I am sorry that I must let him go again. I would rather keep him here. I asked him several times to translate, and it gave great pleasure to those who were present. Everyone begged me to keep him here.

The way I understand, Kaschatus and Thomas White Eyes do not intend to return with Charles. I do not like to have Thomas White Eyes stay here, because I fear that he will immediately lapse into heathenism, because his life, as much as I have seen of it, is not edifying and is unlike that of a true believer. Of our Indian Christians I can tell you the following: first of all, I would say, "Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep." Jacob returned from his backsliding and is again my old brother. Joshua and his wife are also in a good way, at present. Our Sr. Theresa, of the Pottawattami nation, is a joy to us. These all send greetings to you. Catharina with her children also came to us again, for the third time, and wants to live with us. We cannot believe that she is really sincere, because she has lied to us too often. It is generally nothing but poverty that drives her to us. Nevertheless, we accepted her again, and I told her, as often before, that you wished her to come to you, but the way it seems, she does not care much for it.

Generally speaking, we do not dare advise anyone to move to you, no matter how much we might desire to do so, because such would not keep the matter to themselves, and if the heathen learned of it, they would say that we were sending the people away, and they would become very angry with us, as you will judge from the answer of our chiefs to your message. On the whole, the chiefs take too much liberty with us. They demand now that we should allow everyone who lived with us to do as he pleased, without let or hindrance. But this we cannot possibly allow, because we want to live according to the will of God and not according to the will of the heathen.

Here is, for example, the Cherokee family, which settled in our village against our will; so, too, Mary's daughter. These live like heathen, go to dances and drunken sprees of the savages, have heathen sacrifices right here in our village, and invite the heathen to come. And to all of this we are to say nothing. That is what they want. If we admonish them, in love, and point out to them the rules and regulations that are customary and necessary among believers, they tell the heathen about it, whereupon these become angry with us and take us to task. What shall we do? We simply have to allow them to plague us as much as they like, or we must leave the place, because the heathen have the upper hand and we lack the necessary power.

We should have liked it very much if Mary's daughter would have gone to you with her Thomas White Eyes, and remained there, but their heathen friends oppose it, because the chiefs still call together all those who are scattered abroad, because, as we notice, they have warlike intentions. May God graciously prevent them from carrying them out!

John Thomas is still among the heathen, and has his second heathen wife by this time. As soon as I get a chance to see him, I want to talk to him, as I have often done before, though with no success.

For this time, I know nothing further to write, save that we are thus far, thank God, all very well, and that we wish for you, too, with all our heart. Henrietta, the little godchild of you and your dear wife, is a healthy and dear child. She loves to learn hymn verses, and when we tell her of the Saviour she is very happy. Even now while I write, she sits near me and she begs me to greet her dear sponsor for her, with much love.

My little Charles is also a dear child, and pretty large already. He merrily sings the Indian hymns.

There is another matter that I want to mention. Ever since we have been here, the chiefs have constantly been speaking about it that you sent them so few believing Indians, after they had invited all of you to come. We have often thought that it might be well if the Indian congregation in Pettquotting or Fairfield would move into this land of the Indians, and with the Christian teachers, too. Then there would be two Indian congregations in Indian territory. This would please the chiefs and the other Indians very much, and at the same time remove from their minds the suspicion that we merely desire to attract white people to this country. 2d. If the heathen who are converted would not be so isolated as they are now, which often discourages them very much so that they want to leave, because they have not enough of their kind, with whom to associate and to talk about that which is good; if they had constant association with Christians, this would strengthen them, and make them more faithful to the Saviour and to His cause. 3d. We white brethren would also have more encouragement, help and advice. 4th. If it should happen sometimes that Indian Christians could not get along at one or the other place, they might be advised to move to the other congregation. This could be very easily done. At present, however, since the Indian congregations are so far away from us, they do not like to go so far away, even though one or the other does not get along well where he is. The journey from Fairfield and Petquotting to this place is very easy, because one can go from both places by water as far as Fort Wayne, which is only two days' journey by land away from us. These are merely our thoughts. You may consider and examine them, and see if you do not think that this might be good.

Finally, we heartily greet all the dear brethren and sisters, white and brown, who live in your community. My dear wife lovingly greets her dear Mother Susanna[17] and commends herself to her prayer and remembrance before the dear Saviour. I embrace you with the tenderest love, by Jesus' grace, as

Your faithful brother,
J. P. KLUGE

P. S. A hearty greeting yet to Br. Hagen.[18]

WHITE RIVER, February 1, 1806

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your dear letters of April 6 and June 16, of last year, were received safely, through an Indian, by way of Cincinnati. Since then I have often earnestly desired to learn if my letters reach your hand in safety. The greater then was our joy, when we saw a messenger from Goshen arrive, on January 29, through whom we received your dear letters of September 1, October 13, and November 19, in addition to the enclosed monthly reports. From these we learned that all of our letters had reached you safely, which gave us great joy. The contents of your dear letters served as a source of special comfort and encouragement in our present situation, because we saw from the same, your love and interest, as that of the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, in our heavy trials, for which we thank you most warmly, dearest brethren.

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[17] Wife of David Zeisberger.

[18] John Joachim Hagen joined the Goshen Mission about 1804. De Schweinitz, *David Zeisberger*, 663.

Your prayers and petitions which were united with ours, our dear Lord graciously heard to our great comfort, for He set a limit to the raging of the heathen, and changed the severe storms of the Great Enemy into a peaceful calm, more quickly than we supposed. Since fall, we have remained in undisturbed quiet from without, and we did not experience any of the terrible threatenings of the savages, for which we are bowed to the dust and thank and praise our dear Lord.

Our dear Lord and Saviour also kept us in good health, so that we did not suffer from the customary fever, last fall. This was the first time that we escaped since we are here. This we also regarded as a great favor and acknowledge it as such, with grateful hearts to our dear Lord. Likewise, our dear Saviour strengthened our sinking courage, most graciously, in the midst of our heavy trials, and comforted us by His grace, so that, with humble hearts, and with a consciousness of our great poverty, we could proclaim the Word of the cross with renewed hope, to everyone who would hear it, and our dear Saviour revealed Himself graciously in connection with our poor witness, so that we had the joy to baptize into Jesus' death with the name of Hannah, the frequently mentioned mother of the Cherokee family in our midst. A number of heathen, among whom was Tedpachsit and his family, were present at the service. They were all very attentive. There was a conscious feeling of the gracious presence of God in connection with the baptism. The wife of Tedpachsit was so deeply moved that she broke forth into loud weeping, and after the service she declared herself in the most encouraging way. She remained with us during the holidays, because, as she said, she wanted to hear the Word of God right.

The transition from the old to the new year, and Epiphany were times of great blessing to us all.

Hardly were these days over when it seemed as if the Great Enemy mocked at them. The heathen teachers appeared with power, and warned the Indians against our teaching. They pretended to have had visions from the Great Spirit, who told them that they should hold to their old customs and mode of life, and that they should have meat offerings, or else they would all be destroyed. Among these teachers, there is also a woman, who went so far as to make the Indians believe that she had actually seen the angels, and even God himself, who had given the Good Spirit into her hands, whereupon she had taken him into her mouth and swallowed him, and that now he was inside of her, telling her everything that God wanted the Indians to do. By means of such and all sorts of trumped-up lies, these instruments of the Devil seek to keep these poor people in the power of darkness, and unfortunately they are only too successful. Oh, that the hour might strike, when these poor slaves of sin, by God's grace, might realize their pitiful condition! That it may come soon, is our constant prayer to our dear Lord and Saviour.

And now I want to answer your dear letters of November 19, of last year, which you, dear brother, wrote to us in the name of the Helpers' Conference. We read the letter carefully and noted that you most emphatically advised in accordance with the leading of the dear Lord, that we should leave our place and look around for another in this neighborhood, in order that a new mission might be established in Indian territory. This matter gave us a great deal of thought, at first, because all the difficulties with which we had to deal in the planting of this post, presented themselves most forcibly. And now we can count on still more, because we have no outside help at all. Since we realize very well that it is necessary to change our location, and because we are fully convinced that this is the will of the dear Lord and Saviour, for He Himself has pointed out the way, therefore, with full confidence in His gracious assistance, we will risk it cheerfully, for what He wants us poor souls to do, that we are desirous of doing, in childlike obedience, because to Him we owe body and soul. Therefore, we accept the advice which you extended and undertake the task with willing hearts, and we will accommodate ourselves faithfully to the course and direction prescribed. The more we feel our inability and incompetence in regard to it, the more we pray to our dear Lord, that He should graciously direct all our thoughts and intentions according to His holy will.

We have different communities under consideration, but since we have not gathered the necessary information concerning them, we will say nothing more about the matter, for the time being. As soon as something definite has been done, I will tell you at once, dear brethren. It is strange that just at this time when the Saviour directs us to change our location, we hear with certainty that the Indians in the town four miles away are also leaving their place. Some of them intend to go to the Mississippi, for which reason two of our baptized Indians do not want to go away with us, because they are of the opinion that henceforth we would find rest in this village, now that the Indians who troubled us are moving away. We notice, however, that these two think principally of their houses, because they find it hard to leave them. This matter causes us a great deal of anxiety, because we have only four baptized souls, therefore we would not like to leave any one behind, because we know beforehand that such would drift back to the heathen. On the other hand, we cannot be disobedient to the leading of the Lord, on this account.

Having no outside help, we see that it will be necessary in connection with the beginning of the new station to hire a laboring man for a short time. It is impossible for us two brethren to do everything alone, namely, build houses, clear land, cut down trees, split rails, and plant and do the other things which a new place is bound to bring with it. This will mean some unavoidable expense, but we have confidence in the brethren that they will not deny us the necessary means.

Our old Indian brother, Jacob, died happy in the Lord on January 13. This leaves us only Joshua, of those whom we brought with us from Goshen. Our old Joshua feels pretty forsaken at times and earnestly hopes that there may be growth in numbers. We are now busily engaged every day in gathering information about such neighborhoods as we intend to examine with a view of locating there. May our dear Lord and Saviour reveal Himself to us His poor servants, come to the assistance of our impotence, and in all that we do, lead us and advise us in accordance with His will, so that everything may come to pass to His name's honor and glory. This is the prayer we make to our dear Lord.

Herewith we send hearty greetings to you and our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and also to the dear brethren of the Elders' conferences, and commend ourselves and our post to your prayers and remembrance before the dear Lord, as

Your tenderly loving and faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

P. S. I want to tell you yet that the Saviour blessed us on December 31, at three o'clock in the morning, with a little son, who was baptized into Jesus' death, January 1, and received the name Johannes Heinrich. We took the liberty of taking Brother and Sister Loskiel as sponsors, with the full confidence that you will not deny us this privilege. We therefore commend this, your little godchild, to your prayers and remembrance of him before the Lord.

My dear wife soon recovered and is now in the best of condition, as are also the children. She sends heartiest greetings and commends herself especially to your dear wife's prayers and remembrance before the dear Lord.

I embrace you with tender love, and remain, by the grace of Jesus,

Your faithful brother,
J. P. KLUGE

WHITE RIVER, April 1, 1806

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Since my last letter to you by way of Goshen, our circumstances here have become very much worse, whereby we are in a state more sorrowful than ever before. Even now as I write, I find it almost impossible to think or to do anything, because our hearts are still full of sadness and distress, and quite comfortless. From the following sad story, you will best be able to judge, dearest brethren, how we feel at present.

The beginning of February, at the instigation of the heathen teachers or false prophets, all Indians had to assemble in Woapikamikunk, to hear related the foolish fable of the visions which these instruments of the Devil pretended to have had from God, and to act accordingly. Among these teachers was a Schawano, an archscoundrel; this fellow was regarded as the greatest among them, because he pretended to have the power to reveal everything that was hid. This was welcome news to the Delawares. They embraced this opportunity to hold court, in order that they might be able to detect and to destroy all the reputed witches, according to their superstition, as well as those who had poison among them. They resolved to use fire to bring about the confessions of those whom the Schawano would accuse. If anyone should refuse to confess, he should be hacked to pieces with the war hatchet and then burned.

In accordance with this terrible purpose, the young Indians banded themselves together, chose the wildest and most savage among their number as leaders, dismissed their old chiefs, and guarded the congregated Indians as prisoners (especially the old of both sexes).

The old Chief Tedpachsit was the first whom they accused of having poison and of having already destroyed many Indians with it. When the poor old man did not want to confess, they bound him to two stakes and began to burn him. In this distress, he said that he had indeed poison which was stored up in the house of our Indian brother, Joshua. This was just what they wanted, because they were anxious to draw away from us the only Indian brother we still have. They had already called him a number of times to their heathenish doings, but he had always answered: "You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose Word we preach to you, and therefore I have nothing to do with your cause. Do what you want, and only leave us in peace." But they were not satisfied with this. The 13th of March, they sent to us seven wild savages, with painted faces, and took away the Indian Br. Joshua, by force, giving as an excuse that he should only tell Tedpachsit to his face that he had no poison stored in his house, then he could go home again.

No amount of remonstrance on our part did any good. Without any ado, Joshua had to accompany them to the assembled heathen in Woapikamikunk. Now we were quite alone. A long time before the newly baptized Hannah had gone, from fear and superstition, to the congregated savages. What we thought in this connection is not to be described, especially so because we did not know what their intention was in regard to poor Joshua. In our agony we prayed to God our Saviour that He should graciously have mercy on us and on our poor Joshua there among the savages. The daily text was a great comfort to us.

At last, on the 15th of March, we heard that Joshua had been presented to the chief, and had proved in the presence of all the Indians that the statement about the poison was false; old Chief Tedpachsit said that he had said what he did out of fear, hoping thereby to pacify the wild people somewhat; that he knew full well that

Joshua had nothing of the sort concealed in his house; and that he had nothing to do with such things. Joshua was then pronounced free, but they would not let him go home. He was told that he had to wait until the Schawano had arrived. When this fellow finally came, which was on the selfsame day, all the Indians of both sexes were ordered to seat themselves in a circle. The miscreant then was expected to tell the young men whom he believed guilty of having poison or of possessing other supernatural arts related to their superstition.

This he did, too, with a great deal of pomp and ceremony, and accused a number of having concealed poison, with which they had destroyed Indians in all sorts of ways. The two old chiefs, Tedpachsit and Hackingpomska, were first accused of having poison, and the first named was especially charged with the deaths of a great many Indians. When next they asked their sorcerer in regard to Joshua, showing very plainly that they suspected him, this instrument of the Devil said that Joshua had no poison, but that he had an evil spirit in him, by means of which he could destroy Indians. Now the young Indians had heard what they long desired to hear. The unfortunates who had been condemned were taken into custody and kept under close guard.

We did not know anything of all these frightful things until the evening of the 16th, when we heard to our horror that the raging savages had burned alive an old woman by the name of Caritas, who had been baptized by the Brethren in olden times, and who had frequently visited in Bethlehem. We also heard that our poor Joshua had been made a prisoner. How deeply this painful news touched our hearts, can better be imagined than described. Although we were told that they would not kill him, we had no rest day or night, and on account of our sadness we could neither sleep nor eat, because we did not trust the rage and superstition of the wild ones, especially since we knew that they are the enemy of the Christian Indians.

The seventeenth our grief and dilemma became greater, because of the probable fate of our poor Joshua. Terror and horror quite overpowered us, when all of a sudden we saw ten of the wildest Indians, with their faces painted black, partly on foot and partly on horseback, coming with the poor old Chief Tedpachsit into our village. Soon after the barbarians built a large fire near our place, struck the war hatchet deeply in the head of the old Chief, and then threw him alive into the fire. The bloody savages stood around the fire and amused themselves with the pitiful cries and contortions of the unfortunate one. The plain near our house and the woods around us were set on fire, so that our village was filled with smoke and steam. How we felt at the time cannot be put into words! We felt as if we were in the midst of a band of murderers, without any human help. Meanwhile, the uncertain fate of Joshua tortured us, especially.

After the murder had been accomplished, these monsters, still quite wild, came into our house, boasted of their terrible deed, assumed a hypocritical mien, and coolly asked for something to eat and tobacco for their pipes. We could do nothing else than give them what they demanded. We composed ourselves as well as we could and inquired after our poor Joshua, whereupon they at once began to accuse him of their superstitious arts, and said that it was not for nothing that he was kept a prisoner. They said that they knew full well that he was acquainted with the black art, by means of which he could destroy Indians or make them lame; that he was merely pretending to be a believer. We tried to convince them that their charges were unfounded, but in vain. For appearance sake they tried to calm us, by saying that they would not kill him.

We sent a message with them to the captain of the wild ones. We told him and his people to consider well what they would do; that Joshua was an old believer and had nothing to do with the things with which they charged him, and never had anything to do with them, because he belonged to God and abhorred all the works of the Devil; and especially, that he was a Mohican, and, as they well knew, had come here with us as our interpreter. In view of all this, we assured them that it was our earnest request that they should release him, for what they did unto him, we would consider as done unto us, and the like.

Here we saw the hypocrisy of the savages most clearly, for, though they well knew that Joshua would be murdered that very day, they promised that they would deliver the message, though they had plainly showed their displeasure when we defended him. Hereupon, the savages went away again. After we were once more alone, such a feeling of sadness took possession of us that we all broke out into loud weeping, threw ourselves upon our knees before the Lord, and prayed for strength and surrender to His will, and committing ourselves and our poor Joshua into His almighty protection, at the same time, we commended our souls and the soul of our Joshua into His hands, saying, that if it was His will that either we or Joshua should lose our lives at the hands of the savages, He should give us strength, too, that we might remain faithful unto death.

We will never forget how we felt in this terrible hour. Although we had heard that the Indians held us and all teachers of believers in suspicion; that they believed that we took the poison from those Indians who embraced the faith, and kept it, so that the white teachers could use it on the Indians, if these should not be obedient, to make them sick or even to put them to death; although we were acquainted with all this, and therefore could not know what our fate would be, especially since the savages had said that they would lay hold of anyone who would say the least against their actions, we concluded, from sheer distress of heart, to go to the assembled heathen with a speech, and to make an attempt to release our Joshua, or at least, to have a few words with him, even though we should suffer for it.

Because we could not leave my wife and children alone under these anguishing circumstances, Br. Luckenbach felt impelled to go alone. His intention was to look up a trader on the way and take him along. He rode away courageously early in the morning of the 18th, but he had barely gone half way when he met an Indian, who told him the terrible news that our Joshua had already fallen a victim to the ferocity of the savages on the previous day. They struck him on the head with a war hatchet three times, and then burned him. With this horrible news, Brother Luckenbach returned in the afternoon.

This was the most terrible blow that could have struck us. Fear and anguish took possession of our whole being and from sheer terror we could not think. All we could do was to sigh and to weep. After we had recovered our senses to a certain extent, our first thought was to sell everything and to leave this place as quickly as possible and go to Goshen. To this end all preparations had been made, when all of a sudden it turned cold, and we could not undertake the journey just yet on account of the children.

After a few days, we heard that Joshua had spoken a great deal at the place of his murder, but the Indians could not understand what he said. We suppose that he prayed to the Saviour in German, because he was in an encouraging state of heart when the savages took him away from us. Furthermore, we heard that the wild ones had thrown him into a terribly large fire, which they constantly replenished with fresh fuel, but notwithstanding all this, even though his body had been in the fire for two hours, it was merely singed a little. This embittered the barbarians still more, whereupon they built a still hotter fire, but even then he was not burned to ashes until the following morning.

A number of other Indians met a similar fate, at the same time. Even now, while I am writing, their murderous spirit has not subsided.

We do not doubt, therefore, dearest brethren, that you can imagine our sorrowful lot, especially when you remember that we are now all alone in the midst of an ungovernable wild people, who murder their own people and burn them, who listen to no one any more, and in consequence, we live in a state of terror and sorrow, every day. We are thoroughly exhausted both physically and spiritually, wholly worn out, so that we do not know what to do with ourselves.

These terrible experiences have so broken down my poor wife that she is perfectly comfortless, and wants to hear of nothing else but leaving this terrible place. She has no rest by day or by night, and I have reason to fear that in this fearful state, she may suffer mental injury. We had decided to remain at our post, until we had learned the mind of the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, as concerns our present situation, but since we now know for certain that all the Indians of the lower towns are moving together, and intend to build and plant only a mile away from us, it is perfectly clear to us that we cannot stay here any longer, except at the greatest risk of our lives. The old chiefs of the Indians are murdered, and the Indians themselves told us that the old promises no longer obtained, because the old people no longer had anything to say. The young savages are now in full power and do exactly what they please. What the greatest number want, that takes place. The majority cannot bear us and the Word of God, and openly say that those whom we baptized made a covenant with the Devil. They claim that their religion alone is of God, but that ours is not. They contend that they know themselves what they should do and how to live, therefore need no white teachers to tell them. We, therefore, have no protection whatever from their side, but we may expect each scamp among them to do with us as he sees fit.

We concluded to follow the advice of the Helpers' Conference to change our place, before worse came to worse. For this reason we have taken considerable trouble to look about for a suitable location. Since we could not find a suitable place on this river, we thought of settling elsewhere in the territory of the Indians, for the time being. But we are all alone and besides we cannot expect much from other Indian nations. The trouble is that we cannot speak with them either. If we should settle on the lands of another nation, we know beforehand that no Delawares would come to us, because they do not like to live among other Indians, and also have no right to do so, because each Indian nation is expected to live in its own province. We have no pleasure, therefore, to court new dangers in such places. There are only two ways open to us, either to go to Goshen or to stay here at our old place, at least long enough to learn the mind of our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, in regard to our sorrowful state.

We all had the desire to go to Goshen, because it seemed foolish to run further risks by staying here any longer, especially so, because the post had been given up already at the direction of the Saviour, as your letter, dear brethren, stated. We therefore resolved to find out the mind of the dear Saviour, if He approved of our going to Goshen for the time being, and His answer was negative. Hereupon, we decided to bring our present highly sorrowful circumstances once more to the attention of the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and then await, if possible, what we should do and whither we should go.

My poor wife is quite comfortless and in a pitiable frame of mind. The recent atrocities of the savages have so broken her up, that in her fear and anguish she no longer has a contented hour, and nothing will move her to stay here much longer. I had a great deal of trouble persuading her to wait patiently just long enough to hear the mind of the Helpers' Conference. I cannot blame her at all, because she is a sister, and has little children. It is doubly hard upon her to live in a constant state of fright. We never know how soon new dangers may arise and we must be up and away. It is not much different with me and Br. Luckenbach, and we are brothers, and can more readily adapt ourselves to circumstances.

With full confidence that you can imagine how heavy our lot here is, and will therefore not think ill of us, my wife and I herewith most earnestly and at the same time most humbly beg you to call us away from this post. You have our perfect assurance that we are ready and willing to be used further in the service of the dear Saviour, *only not here.* With the sincere hope that you will not deny us this request, we await with the greatest longing your advice, in answer to this letter, namely, our call away from here. We beg you to rejoice our hearts with a favorable letter, as soon as possible. We believe that a reply from you, dearest brethren, might reach Cincinnati by the end of July, therefore, we will make a journey there about that time.

Br. Luckenbach will take this letter to Cincinnati and mail it there. He will bring back our long-expected articles of clothing, if they are there. Now I have yet to write that my wife commends herself very particularly to your sympathetic remembrance of her before the Saviour and earnestly hopes that she may soon hear the assurance that we have been called away from here.

In conclusion, we greet heartily all the brethren and sisters in the congregations, and particularly the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and beg to be remembered in our burdensome and sorrowful lot, in your prayers and remembrance before our Lord. My dear wife greets yours with the most tender love, and I embrace you in the most tender love, by Jesus' grace, as

Your faithful brother,

J. P KLUGE

P. S. Br. Luckenbach likewise sends hearty greetings. Since we did not receive our long-ordered articles of clothing, we were compelled, last fall, to buy the most necessary things for winter use, in Cincinnati, namely: shoes, among other things, which we needed. For this reason we are compelled to draw more money this time than usual, namely, one hundred and sixty dollars.

WHITE RIVER, July 21, 1806

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Your beloved letter of April 27 was received on June 5, to the great joy of us all. I was very glad to learn that you had received the letter which I had sent to you by way of Goshen. All the more do I wish that my letter to you by way of Cincinnati fell into your hands safely, because I described in it, at length, our present sad condition. I imagine that the sad story brought you not a little distress. We earnestly await your answer to the wish and longing which we expressed in our distressing state. The time which I set in my last letter is here, therefore, Br. Luckenbach will leave tomorrow for Cincinnati, God willing, with the intention of getting your answer, which we trust has reached Mr. Ziegler.

We have not heard anything at all of our articles of clothing. We earnestly hope that these too may be found with Mr. Ziegler, because we need them very badly. And now I must tell you the following in connection with our present situation.

Since my last letter to you, we have lived in a constant state of anguish, because the rage and murderous passion of the heathen lasted until the beginning of May. Undoubtedly, many more would have fallen victims to their cruelty, if a tribe of the savages had not revolted, and with fearful threatenings put a check to the murder, for the time being, at least.[19] There threatened to be a terrible bloodshed as a result of this counter-revolution, of which the effects are still in evidence. The Indians hate each other with a bitter hatred, which may flame forth at the slightest provocation.

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[19] See entry of April 9-10, 1806, pp. 420-21.

Last May a year ago, an Indian by the name of Thomas White Eyes came from Goshen and has lived among the heathen here ever since. This fellow, in returning from the chase, brought with him a large quantity of whisky. The result was a terrible drunken spree among the savages, which occurred near our place, and lasted a number of days and nights. An Indian was shot during the carousal. Hereupon Thomas White Eyes, who is a baptized Indian from Goshen, came riding into our place, amid the wildest shrieks, accompanied by four of the wildest heathen, who like himself, were entirely naked. Two of them tried to ride into Br. and Sr. Kluge's house, after they had torn the door open. Only after a great deal of trouble on the part of two Indian women, who hit the horses on the head, were they kept back.

This and other brutalities of the drunken savages threw my wife and children especially into a state of horror and fear. We were compelled to leave our house and to flee with our children to the woods for safety. Br. Luckenbach, who remained behind for the purpose of locking the doors, was discovered by one of the savages, who immediately began to make all sorts of demands on him, among other things wanting him to go along to the drinking place. When Br. Luckenbach refused, the Indian took a hatchet and threatened to hit him on the head with it. After a great deal of trouble he managed to get away from the savage, whereupon he came into the woods, where we were. Toward evening these savages left again, and we were glad, and thanked our dear Lord and Saviour that we could come back to the house with our children, before night came.

We have had a great many evidences of the dear Saviour's protection and help since my last letter to you. Though we heard and saw that the savages positively hated us and the Word of God, and that they were filled with all sorts of prejudice against us; though we are at the mercy of these capricious savages as far as human help is concerned: still, with the exception of the experience related above, we have been wonderfully preserved from physical and spiritual injury, thus far. For this, we thank our dear Lord and Saviour most humbly and heartily, every time we think of it.

Thanks to the Saviour, we are all well and in good health. Our greatest pain is the fact that the Word of God is not at all regarded by these heathen. Even the heathen who live in our midst do not care for it in the least. Even though we keep a public service on Sundays, it is seldom that one or the other of the heathen comes to hear the Word of God. But two baptized souls, Theresa and Hannah, are left us. The former is the only one so far, who has been faithful to the favor received. Hannah permits herself to be driven hither and thither by the stream of destruction, and follows rather the majority of the savages with their superstitions than regards the saving teaching of the Word of God. Unfortunately she thinks more highly of the honor of the heathen than the honor of God.

Because we have no interpreter at present, neither any translations of God's Word, therefore we cannot deliver any connected speeches, and because we do not know the language well enough, therefore we limit ourselves to the sufferings of the dear Saviour, which we relate in simple fashion to everyone both in public and in private. For this we use every opportunity which presents itself. With it all, we pray to our dear Lord, that He should come to our assistance and supply, by His Spirit's power, what is lacking. This is what we can do in our sorrowful and very distressing situation. After all the proclamation of the gospel does not quite cease, as long as we remain here.

The way we have felt in these later times cannot be described. The Saviour alone knows how often we poured our grief into His heart of sorrows, and thereby found relief for our sad hearts. To His comfort alone we owe it that we could continue thus far in patience and in hope, therefore we long the more for help now, and we hope to receive it in the answer contained in the letter of our dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. In our present state, we feel quite forsaken, and know neither how to help ourselves nor what to do further, but we yield ourselves wholly to the all-wise guidance of the Saviour and our dear brethren, and with patient surrender to His will we patiently await the future. Because there has been no other opportunity than this to send our diary from August, 1805, to March, 1806, we will enclose it herewith.

In conclusion, our heartiest greetings to all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, and all brethren of the Elders' conferences, and we commend ourselves to their prayers and remembrance of us before the Lord. My dear wife greets yours with tender affection, and I embrace you especially in tender love as

Your faithful brother,
J. P KLUGE

Br. Luckenbach sends his best regards to you.

CINCINNATI, July 29, 1806

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

First of all, heartiest greetings to you and the dear Helpers' Conference. I want to let you and the dear brethren know that I arrived here in health and in safety, yesterday, for which the Saviour's name be praised! I found our things according to the list, also two letters, one of May 21 and the other of June 29. According to our understanding before I left home, I opened the letters in order to learn what had been decided in regard to us, so as to know how to make the necessary purchases.

It is too bad that things did not go as they had been decided in the meeting of the Helpers' Conference. We have not been able to do anything in the matter so far. Mr. Ziegler told me that he had been unable to find anyone with whom to send the letter. He also assured me, as did Mr. Weber also, that quarters here are very expensive and at that, not very plentiful. Consequently, it would be impossible for us to find quarters here, because there are newcomers here all the time, and these have not built homes yet for themselves. He believes that we might sooner find quarters in the country somewhere. This would not be as expensive and still we could have opportunity for correspondence with the dear brethren. I really do not know what to do, and consequently find it impossible to satisfy your earnest desire to obtain an answer to your letters. I am very sorry that I am to write in this place, in regard to what we shall do in the future, because I do not know what Br. and Sr. Kluge think about it, and whether or not they will accept the offer. I do not know whether they would find any pleasure in the undertaking of a journey like the one you mention.

To correspond from the White River any longer, will not be possible any more, or else most of the time would be spent in going to and from between the two places. Then, too, our location would not be changed and the departure from there, as directed by the Saviour, would be hindered. If we decide to leave our place, that will be connected with difficulties, too, because we do not know rightly for what we shall prepare ourselves, whether we shall sell our cattle and our household effects, or take pack horses or other things in exchange or what. The pack horses would be of service, if we were going to Goshen, but not if we should remain around here for the time being. In that event we would not take any in exchange and would even have to sell what we had, and that at a low price. It would be too expensive to feed them.

I take only the most necessary of our articles along. The rest I leave here in care of Mr. Ziegler. I do not want to load myself up with unnecessary burdens. I read your dear little note to me and weighed carefully its contents. What shall I say in regard to it? I feel it my duty to serve the Saviour wherever He places me. Even though I would not better my circumstances, (which is something which a servant of the Saviour does not and dare not regard,) if this is His will for me, then His will be done. I am still a poor being in His service, in that I am still conscious of my shortcomings, in connection with the true enjoyment of His merits and the perfect confidence in His all-sufficient sacrifice. I often lack comfort when I feel my depravity, and when I measure myself with the Word of God and consider the form of true faith, the anxious thought sometimes arises, if I do not still lack the life of God.

Much has already presented itself in connection with my service here, that I would not have thought in me, as for instance, actual unbelief and doubt. Nothing remains to me but my refuge in the Saviour. He has to have unspeakably great patience with me, and I trust that He may succeed in delivering me entirely from self-righteousness, so that in my consciousness of my own weakness, I may confidently look up to Him and leave my feelings of distrust.

My dear brother, I must now close, since it is dinner-time, and I should like to go home as soon as possible. I often wish that I might spend an hour with you. This would be a great comfort to me, I have no doubt. Finally, heartiest greetings to you and the Helpers' Conference. I commend myself to your remembrance before the Saviour, and remain

Your brother,
ABR. LUCKENBACH

P. S. Please remember me to my relatives. Pardon the thoughtlessness in regard to the announcement of the unpleasant news to Philadelphia, which was due to my indiscretion. I shall be careful in the future.

White River, August 5, 1806

My dearly beloved brother Loskiel:

Your letters of May 21 and June 29 reached us at the same time. They came on the second of August, to our great joy and comfort, through Br. Luckenbach. I want to thank you, brethren of the Helpers' Conference, most heartily for your tender interest, and your paternal care and faithfulness in our sorrowful condition. In your letter of May 21, I learn that, under the guidance of the dear Saviour, our mission is given up for the time being, and that we shall leave the White River as soon as possible and move to Cincinnati, where Mr. Ziegler will look after our wants. We heartily wish that this might have taken place. But since Mr. Ziegler could not carry out your wishes, because, as he says, he had neither quarters for us nor a man with whom to send your letter, so we are still at the old place, where we received your communication. Now, however, we shall follow your directions to leave here at the earliest time, and shall proceed to the neighborhood of Cincinnati, where we shall await the further decision of our dear brethren.

Although we earnestly longed to be called away from here, because of our dangers, I must confess that it is with a heavy heart after all, that I leave this post, especially so, when I remember the many difficulties, dangers, and sorrows with which we had to struggle all these years, and with how many sighs and tears, though all unworthy, we preached the atonement among these heathen, and now in the end our aim was after all not realized, because the poor heathen languishing in sin, rejected the gracious gospel, and, under no circumstances, wanted to yield themselves to Jesus, because they preferred to remain in the slavery of sin. When I think of all this, my heart overflows with sadness, and I breathe one more prayer to the faithful Saviour for a gracious visitation upon this impenitent people. I treasure the fervent hope, that what we sowed in tears may some time bring forth fruit, and that in the end Christ may find, in this nation, a reward for His sufferings.

In your letter of June 29, I see that you, dear brethren, have been thinking of my future destiny. In regard to the offer made to me and my wife, however, I would say, much as we should like to submit ourselves to the advice and guidance of the dear Saviour and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference, that we considered the matter carefully, and find that we cannot accept the proposal, because we find no pleasure in it whatever, and that for the following reasons: 1. as said before, it is difficult to find support for a family in Cincinnati; 2. our sojourn there would be very expensive; 3. it is impossible for me, in accordance with your intention, to go out from Cincinnati for the purpose of learning what other Indian nation might be found to which we could preach the gospel. It is very seldom that Indians come into the neighborhood of Cincinnati, and those who do come are Delawares. Apart from these, there live on the Wabash, and back of Fort Wayne, the Twechtowe, Pottawatimis, and the Kickapoos. These people live twice as far from Cincinnati as the Delawares, and they never come near Cincinnati. Should I want to look for a suitable opening for the preaching of the gospel among these Indian nations, it would necessitate my making long journeys, and meanwhile I should have to leave my wife and children to the mercy of strangers. Your plan might do for an unmarried man, but, in my circumstances, it is impossible to carry it out, much as I might wish it. Therefore, in my judgment, our sojourn in Cincinnati would be to no purpose.

Apart from this, dear brethren, I can assure you that since we are here, I have made frequent inquiries in regard to Indian nations, and always found that the Delawares did not surpass them, as far as wildness, drunkenness, and all other abominations were concerned. With the chief of the Twechtoe or Miami nation I am well acquainted, frequently have preached to him the gospel of salvation, and often inquired if his people did not desire to have teachers come among them to preach the Word of God and to teach them the way to eternal life, and the like. But unfortunately he always found objections to anything like this, and I have never been able to observe the least longing or desire among them for the hearing of the Word.

The few Shawnees who live in this neighborhood are for the present so carried away with their heathen teachers, that they do not want to hear anything but their foolish teaching. At the same time, they are full of suspicion against the white people. I must admit that everything that I heard about the before-mentioned Indian nations since I have been here, and what I have ascertained from personal conversations with some of their number, gives me little hope that the gospel would be received any sooner by them than by the heathen Delawares. And especially so because the Indian nations in this neighborhood are wholly given over to drunkenness. I, therefore, have confidence in you, dear brethren, that you will not think badly of us, because we cannot accept your proposition, for we have no pleasure in it at all, because of the reasons given above. We earnestly beseech you, therefore, to let us know as soon as possible, whether my wife and children and I shall go to Goshen or come to you, because my dear wife is especially anxious to make the journey to our destination before winter sets in.

My wife humbly thanks you, dear brethren, for your affectionate interest and sympathy for her, and she wants me to assure you that the best time for her to recover will be when we shall hear that we can proceed on our way, without stopping anywhere, because, as she told me, with the exception of Goshen, she would positively have no pleasure, for the present, to go to another Indian congregation. It would be hard on her to travel around with three small children, in Indian lands. She believes herself in duty bound to tell you, dear brethren, exactly how she feels in the matter, and begs you not to think ill of her. She faithfully promises, in every other way, to be submissive to the will of the Saviour. With the hope that we shall not have to stay over winter in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, we decided to sell our cattle, corn, furniture, house, and everything else, and to keep our horse, which we need for the journey. Because we cannot get anything here for our possessions except the wares of the trader, or horses, we have concluded to exchange them for pack animals. We can use these to carry away our goods, and in this way we shall be able to make our way to Goshen, where we can sell them.

And now, dear brethren, I have nothing further to write, other than that, the dear Saviour be praised, we are all well, and getting ready for the journey. Herewith we leave our future destination in the hands of our dear Saviour and the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference. Heartiest greetings to all the brethren of the Helpers' Conference. We commend ourselves to your prayers and remembrance of us before the Lord. My dear wife greets yours most lovingly, and I embrace you especially in tender love, and, by Jesus' grace, as

Your faithful brother,

J. P. KLUGE

CINCINNATI, September 27, 1806

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

Since I arrived here again today, partly to draw some money for our journey, through Mr. Ziegler, and partly to bring the remaining articles of clothing left here, it gave me great joy to receive a letter from you and from Br. Forestier, and I express to you, and to the Helpers' Conference, in the name of us all, our warmest thanks for your affectionate interest in our frequently afflicting circumstances. It comforts and cheers us every time that we hear from you and receive your advice. Br. Kluge would have written himself, if the circumstances had permitted, but since there is neither paper nor ink at the place where we made our stop, he asked me to send a short letter to the Helpers' Conference.

First of all, I must send the heartiest greetings from him and his dear wife to you all, and announce that after some more unpleasant experiences with the savages, who would have preferred to take away everything from us, we left the White River, September 17, and with the assistance of a Frenchman who helped us with the pack horses, we arrived on the 22d, twelve miles above Fort Hamilton, at the settlements. We reached there in health and without personal injury. Here we took up very close quarters, until we might learn how we may get further. Although we are looking around for comfortable quarters on our journey, we could not find any this time, because the people in this community are still poorly off. One finds nowhere more than a very little house in which sitting room, kitchen, and sleeping chamber are all in one, and this is generally well inhabited by a numerous family. We comfort ourselves with the thought that we do not have to remain there long, as we hope. Although the horse, which Sr. Kluge rode, was so badly galled that we feared we might not be able to use it again, we have hopes that it will be all right again. As soon as I have returned to our quarters, which are thirty-seven miles away from here, our first care shall be to push forward on our journey, as soon as possible.

Whether we will make use of a wagon or not, I cannot tell yet. It would undoubtedly be the best and easiest for us, but we have so many horses and we are already prepared with the packing, so that I do not think matters could be changed very well without loss. Mr. Ziegler thinks that we might go by way of Gnadenhütten, where we could dispose of the horses not needed for the further journey. Should it happen that we may equip ourselves, without loss, in some other way, we shall accept your suggestion and come direct to Bethlehem, without going first to Goshen.

We thought of drawing sixty dollars, but if we should direct our course straight to Bethlehem, that amount would not be sufficient. To be prepared for any case, I will draw eighty dollars on you. You may rest assured that we will be as saving with the money as possible, because we well know that the Society has a great deal of expense, as it is. We will trust to the faithful Saviour that He will bring us safely to you and give us the needed patience and the necessary wisdom under difficult circumstances. Oh, that His peace may attend us and ever give us comforted hearts, so that the peace among ourselves may not be disturbed through our ill humor in critical times. Finally, we greet you all most heartily and commend ourselves to your continual prayers and remembrance before our dear Saviour, and if the Lord's will, we hope to see you soon in person. Heartiest greetings to you, from

Your faithful brother,
ABR. LUCKENBACH

WRITTEN BETWEEN CHESTNUT RIDGE AND LAUREL HILL,
October 26, 1806

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER LOSKIEL:

I hope that my last letter, which I wrote to you from Zanesville on the Muskingum, reached you safely.[20] You will have learned from it how graciously our dear Saviour brought us there, and how He protected us from all dangers on the very wearisome journey. By His grace, we could proceed on our way, with cheer and courage, for which we humbly praise and thank Him. Oh, that we might ever be a real joy to our faithful Saviour, for all the favors which He shows us poor pilgrims!

20th. We crossed terrible mountains and reached the Ohio, over which we were safely transferred in a flatboat, and at noon of the same day, we arrived in Wheeling, where we made a short stop on business. Our business consisted of having several of our horses shod and of looking up a merchant who would give us fifty dollars on Br. Haga, in Philadelphia. Our money for travel was all gone. In a Mr. Updegraff, a Quaker, we found the kindly disposed man we were looking for. We hope that the fifty dollars will be sufficient, because we will live very savingly and do all we can to keep down expenses. I should have liked very much to write to you from Wheeling, but it is very expensive to stay in that city with horses, so we hurried away from there as quickly as possible, and drove five miles further before nightfall.

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[20] This letter was either lost or not preserved.

22d. Arrived in Washington,[21] and because it was only noon, we drove on after a short stay. At that place I had made up my mind that I would write to you, but to our regret, the hotels were so full of people because of a military review which was being held in the town, that we could not find a corner to ourselves.

23d. We passed the Manakchelli[22] which was so low that we drove right across it.

24th. We were not a little distressed, when all of a sudden one of our best wagon horses threw himself to the ground and appeared very sick. We immediately unhitched him, whereupon he rolled himself around on the ground. We judged that he must have colic, so we gave him some tar and rode him about for about two hours, whereupon, to our great joy, he became better, and we were able to hitch him again.

We thought of selling two of our pack horses on the way in order to get some traveling money, but since no opportunity presented itself for this, and these horses merely increased expenses, we sent them with a trusty man who lives in Stillwater and who is well acquainted with the Brethren, to Br. David Peter in Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum. We also sent a letter to Br. David

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[21] Washington, Pennsylvania.

[22] Monongahela.

Zeisberger, in which I asked the brethren mentioned to accept the horses and to sell them for the benefit of the mission.

We still have four horses, three for the wagon and one for riding. If you, dearest brethren, would like to have a picture of us, just imagine a very miserable looking farm wagon, with three medium-sized horses attached, and, for the most part, Br. Luckenbach as driver. In this way, we are slowly making our way forward and usually cover from sixteen to eighteen miles a day. Tomorrow, we expect to arrive in Somerset. And so we are coming nearer to you, dearest brother, day by day, until we shall have the pleasure of knowing you personally. That will be a great day for us! God willing, this may come to pass in ten or twelve days.

My dear wife and children are, thank God, quite well, considering the long, wearisome journey, not to mention coughs, headaches, and toothaches, with which nearly all of us suffered the last few days, but especially my wife and children. I have suffered considerably from sore eyes for a number of days. This has been especially painful to me in the evening, so that I can hardly open them. Writing is therefore very difficult for me, especially so because I must do it by lamp light. I hope that you will, therefore, forgive me, dearest brother, that I hasten to a close.

Herewith we greet most tenderly all the dear brethren of the Helpers' Conference and we commend ourselves to your prayers and remembrance before the Saviour. Very especially do I embrace you, as

Your tenderly loving and faithful brother,

J. PETER KLUGE

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF JOHN PETER KLUGE AND ABRAHAM LUCKENBACH

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN PETER KLUGE[1]

"Jesus' grace and mercy never cease,
Of this my life affords the most
striking evidence;
To the praise and honor of His name;
For in me and my life there is naught
on this earth.
What Christ has given (vouchsafed) me,
that alone is worth living for."

WITH that which the above verses imply, I would rather let it suffice, but as I have been requested by many good friends, and especially by my dear children, to leave something in writing in regard to the manner in which the Lord has been pleased to lead me, and my experiences, I will write down something to the praise of my faithful Lord of what He has graciously done for me, during my life, for an example to other poor sinners, that their trust and faith in Him may be strengthened.

I was born on the 3d of October, 1768, in Gumbinnen in Prussia and, soon after my birth, baptized in the Reformed Church, but never had the good fortune to learn to know my father, inasmuch as he blissfully departed this life only a few weeks before my birth. He was a distinguished master mason in that city, so much so that my dear mother and other friends often spoke of him and pointed out to me the many large buildings he had erected, which made a strong impression upon me; much more so, however, was I deeply impressed for a long time with the circumstance that my dear mother, whenever she went to church, first repaired to my father's grave, which was near to it, and remained standing and *weeping* over it, whereupon I was wont to ask her why she wept.

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[1] This autobiographical sketch of the Reverend John Peter Kluge was translated from the German by Kluge's son, John Henry Kluge, in January, 1887, and is among the papers in the Moravian Archives. The autobiography, in the German, was printed in *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine* (1854).

When she answered, here lies your father who earned our bread and who supported us. Whereupon, as she told me, I always answered, dear mother don't weep; I will provide for you, which promise often recurred to me in after years, but which alas! I never could fulfill. Still my mother assured me that my childlike promise often greatly comforted her. Hence she was very much concerned during her widowhood to rear me, her youngest child, for the Lord, according to the best of her understanding; and, as she belonged to the Society of the Brethren, she always took me along with her to the children's meetings, which the then minister Bro. Ullerich Willy kept, from which I derived many a blessing even in my tender childhood. Moreover, she sent me regularly to a learned schoolteacher, who also belonged to the same Society. At that time there was a special awakening and spiritual revival among young and old, which I still remember with the greatest pleasure; and I sigh, Ah! were it only still so! Especially did one circumstance of my childhood's years remain deeply impressed upon me, viz: I once dreamed that as we children came out of the meeting hall, at the door stood the Saviour and we kissed his hand, when I awoke crying. My mother said, "Child, why are you crying?" I answered, "Oh, the dear Saviour was here, and now he is gone again!" My mother sought to appease me, and said, "Our dear Saviour is always present when we pray to Him," which quieted me. But in future years, and even now while I write this, I often wish, with a heartfelt sigh, 'Oh that I still entertained such childlike love for the children's best Friend, Who first loved us,' but alas! this childlike love vanished with increasing years. Yet, the Good Shepherd was ever active with His good spirit at my poor heart, and shielded me from the temptation of sinful participation in the pleasures of the world. As I thought that all preachers would be saved, and which was so firmly fixed in my head, I loved nothing better than to preach, for which purpose I often erected a pulpit for myself and recited the passages of scripture and verses which I had learned. (On one of these occasions, I fell backwards into a large hogshead on which I had erected my pulpit, and on cries for help had to be drawn out, through the Providence of God, without, however, receiving any injury.) The Reformed preacher and inspector of the city whom my mother occasionally visited with me, had observed this great delight for preaching and offered to give me private instruction, and afterward to send me to Königsburg into the Royal Orphan House where his brother was Director to study theology, from which place I was to go to the University; he also promised that after the completion of my studies, he would appoint me as his assistant, and that then I could frequently preach in his pulpit. This, to me, excellent offer of my dear friend preacher and inspector of the Reformed congregation took so firm a hold upon my mind, that I thought of nothing else than the fulfillment of this plan, which was firmly resolved upon before Easter, when I being 15 yrs. of age, was admitted to sacrament by confirmation and was then immediately to go to Königsburg, to my great joy. But my dear mother, who was very loath to let me go, because she was very much concerned for my spiritual welfare, consulted with the members of the Society in regard to the project, and the time set for departure. These good, well-meaning friends advised her to the contrary and told her the teachers at the Academy and the University were all deists and infidels. That was enough to arouse my poor, simple-minded mother to determined opposition to the well-meant and to me, welcome, plans. She at once went to the above-named preacher and declared to him that she never would give her consent to his plans because she desired to raise her son for Jesus; it was therefore of no consequence whether I studied, or learned a trade; and thus my pleasantest anticipations were frustrated. At this time my mother, at the instance of the members and the minister, married again. This man was a tailor by trade, and now that I might be always about her, I was to learn the tailor's trade, for which I had no desire at all because my mind was occupied with nothing but becoming a preacher. In order to disperse these thoughts, other means were resorted to, and I was persuaded to enter the service of a merchant who belonged to the Brethren's Society; but this too did not last long because it too was entirely against my inclination, and moreover it seemed rather a precarious business, to my mother herself, to leave me in a store, where, as she thought, much cheating was indulged in. I was then sent to one of the Brethren who had a "cordeoan"[2] manufactory; but this too lasted but a short time, on account of sickness. Now I was in a great dilemma not knowing what to do, which condition the young people took advantage of to draw me away from my pietism, as they called it; but the faithful Shepherd of souls graciously outstretched His arms over me, so that I had no peace in their company. Now I went to my only brother at Insterburg and remained there some time. He too belonged to the Brethren's Society. Here again I was subjected to many temptations on the part of worldly-minded men and pretended friends, with whom I could not associate without great reproaches of conscience, on account of which I frequently by day and night entreated the Saviour of poor sinners in mercy to show me some place to which I might flee for the salvation of my soul where, according to my wish, I could live and prosper in His service; because I thought that I would surely be lost among men in the wide world. In the midst of these, my anxious petitions to my dear Saviour, it all at once seemed to me as if somebody said, go to the Brethren's congregation of whom I had already heard much. Now without consulting with flesh and blood, I at once went to the above-named minister of the Brethren's Society and unburdened myself to him respecting all that was passing in my heart. He received me in a very fatherly manner and advised me to follow my inward calling, and as he himself intended going to Herrnhut he offered to take me with him, which I cheerfully accepted. Thus I departed with this dear brother from my friends in the year 1788, and arrived safely in the congregation at Neusaltz[3] where I was received with much love and remained for some time. The following autumn I was directed to go to Gnadenberg,[4] where I remained during that winter. In the year 1789 I received admission to the congregation at Kleinwelke[5] whither I went by way of Nisky,[6] where I was received with great cordiality. Here I lived very happily because all I saw and heard in the meetings harmonized with my heart's desires. The same year I was taken into the congregation as a member, and admitted to participation in the Holy Sacrament, which privileges I esteemed very highly and on which occasion I anew dedicated myself to the Lord and his service for life. Oh! that the promise then sincerely made has been as faithfully kept! In the year 1790, to my great joy, I received a call as tutor in the institution at Nyst, to take charge of four children of friends of the Brethren's Unity, viz: Peter Charles, a little son of Count von Hohenthal, August von Schirding, Herman, Count Puckler, and a son of the Prussian General Baron von Unruhe. These children were all about ten years of age, and constituted the youngest class taken into that institution. Most earnestly did I seek to advance the best interests of these children, and I incessantly implored wisdom and grace of the Lord for the proper discharge of my duties, which of His mercy He abundantly granted me, and for which I shall only be able to thank Him adequately in the world to come. In this service I was very happily situated, as it afforded me the opportunity of following my inclination to study the Holy Scriptures, to which end I devoted every spare moment, and from which I derived many a blessing to my poor heart, and which served to strengthen my determination to devote my whole life to the service of the Lord. It therefore was a matter of great rejoicing to me when, in the month of March of the year 1794, I was honored with a call to serve the Lord in the mission in Surinam (S.A.) which, in reliance upon His help, I accepted, and where I arrived the same year, and was assigned service in the mission among the Indians at Hope on the Corentyne[7] (in Dutch Guiana). The voyage from Holland to Surinam was at that time extremely dangerous, because every European nation was involved in war with France, wherefore we sailed in company with more than a hundred vessels under convoy of six men-of-war from England, and after 13 weeks arrived and anchored safely in the harbor of the City of Paramaribo in Surinam, filled with gratitude to the Lord who had so graciously brought us to our destination. After a short sojourn in Paramaribo, I repaired to Hope, the place of my destination. Here a new period in my life's history began. In the first place numerous difficulties presented themselves in learning the difficult Arawak language, without a knowledge of which it was impossible for me to proclaim the glad tidings of Jesus, the Saviour of sinners, successfully to those poor heathen. This drove me to the Lord in fervent entreaties for His aid, and to His honor be it said, my petitions received a gracious answer so that I was enabled to make such advances in the attainment of the same that in one year I was able to preach in that language. Now I was in my element. I must here remark that through my labors with the youth whom I taught, I profited much in perfecting myself in the language and in gaining a knowledge of the character of the Indians; and from my own experience, I would recommend to all missionaries to engage themselves and have intercourse with the youth as much as possible. Outwardly this station was a very difficult one, since notwithstanding the unhealthy climate, we were obliged to do all in our power to lessen the expenses of the mission. In order to teach the Indians habits of industry, the men received instruction in woodwork and the women in spinning cotton and weaving hammocks, that they might thereby gain a support. On our part, this necessitated frequent journeys by water among the Indians, as well as to the colony of Berbice, in order to dispose of the wooden ware and hammocks, for which purpose we had an agent in that colony. All these journeys, for the most part, fell to me, which duty I cheerfully performed for the good of the mission, although I had often to suffer much on account of the prevalent and very malignant yellow fever, even among the wild Caribs, with whom I had frequently to remain overnight, and without ever receiving any injury (under the gracious protection of the Lord). On one of these trips to Berbice in a heavily laden sailboat, and during a storm, it unfortunately sprang a leak and grounded a mile from land; the wild waves washed over us for the space of four hours, and nothing short of death stared us in the face. In which dilemma no recourse was left us but to pray, weep, and ponder on what would be the issue. Still the Lord heard our prayers, and at about 10 o'clock at night we managed to reach a perfectly uninhabited part of the country, drenched to the skin, glad and thankful to the Lord, whom wind and waves obey, for having escaped with our lives. Here we stood by a fire throughout the whole night and dried our clothing, surrounded by wild beasts and the raging sea, though without water to quench our thirst. Thus we anxiously awaited the dawn of day, but when it appeared we experienced new sufferings. Hunger and thirst oppressed us sorely. What should we do? My Indian brethren looked to me for help. I comforted them and said, "The Lord our Saviour will not leave us. Pray to him, for He who has saved us from the water can now also preserve us, if it be His will." Thereupon I went alone along the seashore and addressed myself most fervently to my Saviour, who had so often helped me through so much tribulation, as my only Friend in need, and said to Him, "Dearest Saviour, thou omniscient God, thou knowest in what situation we are. Thou hast saved us from the water. If it is thy will that I shall serve thee longer, thou must give us food and drink to save us." Hardly had I thus spoken when I saw a chest swimming toward us, which I soon recognized as my provision chest. Thus we were enabled to refresh ourselves somewhat with food and drink. This almost instantaneous answer to my simple prayer strengthened me greatly in my faith, and in a few days we were rescued from this desolate region, so that with the poet I could truly say:

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[2] He probably means an accordion.

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[3] Neusalz.

[4] This was a small Moravian settlement near Breslau.

[5] Kleinwelke, located three miles from Bautzen, was another Moravian center.

[6] Nisky or Nicsky, a third Moravian center in Silesia, where was located a boys' school for the children of the Brethren.

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[7] The Corentyne separates British and Dutch Guiana (Surinam).

"Friend in need," &c.

Apart from these dangerous journeys undertaken in behalf of the mission must be added the one to Paramaribo in Surinam, the most difficult of all, since it had to be made by sea, and which frequently fell to me, and I as cheerfully undertook. But in this warlike time, as the coast between Berbice and Surinam was constantly infested by hostile privateers, it once happened that I was captured by an English privateer and taken to the colony of Berbice. Here I took the yellow fever, in consequence of which I was unconscious for nine days, and had it not been, under God, for the friendly offices of the Governor, Baron von Badenburg, I certainly would have died. For when I again became conscious, I was shown a coffin in readiness for my remains. This kind friend showed me every possible attention, and the Lord blessed the endeavors of this special physician so that I recovered. Through the aid of the Governor, I also obtained all the property belonging to the mission.

In the year 1800, with the consent of the U. E. C. I went to Bethlehem in N. A., where I was kindly welcomed. During August of the same year, I received a call to commence a mission among the Indians on the White River (in Indiana Ty.) which I accepted, in reliance upon the Lord. To this end I was, on the 3d of October following, joined in the bonds of holy matrimony to the single sister Anna Maria Ranck, and shortly after ordained a deacon of the Brethren's Church by the sainted brother, the late Bishop Koehler.[8] At the end of this month we went to Goshen (Ohio and now on the Tuscarawas) on the Muskingum, where we remained during the winter, and in March, 1801 left with 3 (Christian) Indian families in 3 canoes for the place of our destination, and arrived there in May where we found nothing but a howling wilderness, so repulsive to human nature, but our trust was in the Lord, and we went joyfully to work and, with the help of our Indian brethren, built Indian huts, which we covered with bark. On Sundays we held our religious meetings in the shade of the trees to which a great many heathen Indians came and listened attentively. At these meetings we felt the presence of the Lord, and our courage was greatly strengthened to continue in the work. Especially encouraging to us was the prospect of this becoming a gathering place of the heathen, whose number daily increased, and who demeaned themselves very friendly towards us, so that we fondly hoped and believed that the Lord would here erect for himself a habitation for the salvation of heathen Indians. This caused us to forget all inconveniences and even patiently to endure the many attacks of fever sickness. But all at once everything changed, inasmuch as the Evil One led across from Canada a bloodthirsty band of wild Indians, the leader of whom called himself a prophet and said that he knew everything that had happened and was now happening and that he had been sent by the Great Spirit to hold a court of judgment, and drive away all bad men. Now a time of suffering began; no one was safe either day or night. It seemed as though the very air was full of evil spirits. Murder and arson were the order of the day. An old Delaware chief was burned alive before our eyes, and our interpreter, Brother Joshua, had also to end his life in the flames. Moreover, an old Indian sister fell a sacrifice to their superstition. We ourselves never knew at what hour we too would be murdered and for 6 long mos. had to hide ourselves almost every night in the woods.[9] But our dear Lord held his strong hand mercifully over us, so that we at last found means, in accordance with the wish and desire of the Elders' Conference, and the brethren of the U. E. C., Verbeek and Forrestir,[10] to get away from this place of horror and murder. On this perilous journey of 100 miles in the wilderness we had again to be grateful for the gracious guidance of our dear Lord and the protection of His holy angels, for which we offered Him our heartfelt thanks on our knees, at the end of our journey.

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[8] The Reverend John Daniel Koehler accompanied Bishop de Wattville from Europe to North America in 1784. He was consecrated a bishop in 1790. Levering, *History of Bethlehem,* 528, 529.

"Lord Jesus, Friend in need," &c.

As graciously did He help us to accomplish the remaining journey of 900 miles to Bethlehem, where we arrived safely with our 3 children, (Chas., Henrietta and J. H'y) in November, 1806 and were most hospitably received and cared for by the brethren.[11] . . . In the year 1807, I received a call to [North] Carolina, where I served the congregation at Bethabara and Bethania until the year

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[9] The Memoir at this point departs from the Diary and the Letters and shows clearly the inferiority of recollections, as historical sources, to strictly contemporaneous accounts.

[10] John Renatus Verbeek and Charles von Forestier were commissioned to come to Pennsylvania by the Unity's Elders' Conference. They arrived in America from Germany in 1806.

[11] It will be noted that the presence of Abraham Luckenbach on the mission is not mentioned.

1819. The Lord graciously owned my poor services here, but as my dear wife for some years past suffered with consumption, I, in March, 1819, received and accepted a call to Graceham, Maryland, in hopes that perhaps, by the change of climate, she might recover. But alas! this was not the case; the Lord's designs were not ours, and resolved to take her into His eternal rest, so that to my deep sorrow, I was bereft of her by death in February, 1820. She was to me a faithful helpmeet for 20 years; for which too I pray the Lord to graciously receive her spirit. Our union was blest with six children, 3 sons and 3 daughters (Chas. Fred., Henrietta, John H'y, Christ'n Lewis, Caroline Amelia and Clementina Louisa), all of whom are living. During this period I undertook the erection of a new church, in accordance with the wish of the congregation, the old wooden edifice being very dilapidated, in the accomplishment of which I experienced numerous and evident instances of Divine assistance. In September 1820, I was united in the holy bonds of matrimony with the single sister Elizabeth Eyerly of Lititz (Pennsylvania) with whom I served the congregation at Graceham until the year 1827, with much pleasure. In July 1827 I received a call to York, Pa., which we accepted; . . . but unfortunately our united labors were of short duration, for on the 26th of December of that year it pleased the Lord to take my dearly beloved companion, in the midst of her activity, home to Himself. Her departure was the occasion of her confinement with a little daughter (Eliza Theodora). The depth of grief in this separation is only known to the Lord. . . . My only consolation was the assurance that it was the Lord's doing, and therefore wise and good. In this bereavement it again fell to my lot, for the second time, to attempt the erection of a church, at the solicitation of the congregation, since the one in use was too small, one half the congregation often being unable to be accommodated, on which account friends in the city also often encouraged me to erect a more spacious building. I accordingly undertook to raise the necessary funds by subscription, for money we had none, and the congregation was small. We depended mainly upon the outside assistance of friends and behold the Lord blessed our efforts beyond our expectations, and we were enabled to complete and dedicate this house of worship without encumbering it with debt. In September of the year 1828, I had the honor to be ordained a presbyter at Lititz, Pa., by Bishop Anders. On the 29th January, 1829, I for the third time entered into the state of holy matrimony with the single sister Maria E. Albright, at Bethlehem, Pa., the Right Rev. Bishop Anders officiating. This union was blessed with four sons (viz: James, William, Cornelius and John P.), of whom two were twins. Of these but one, John P. (the twin) is still alive and at school in Nazareth, the rest having preceded their mother into eternity. With my dear wife I served the congregation at York till 1833. . . . That year we removed to Bethlehem, and retired from service during the winter, on account of severe rheumatic pains. Having regained my health at the expiration of this period, I had the pleasure of assisting in the services of the Lord here and in the vicinity. In the month of March 1835 [1836?] I received a call to serve the congregation at Emmaus and vicinity ad interim, which I cheerfully accepted and attended to until October, 1838. . . . During that month we removed to Nazareth, in which congregation, as well as the vicinity, I had frequent opportunities to be active in His service. In the year 1840, in compliance with the wish of my dear wife, whose health began to fail, I again removed to Bethlehem, her favorite place, where she had previously served in the Young Ladies' Seminary for a period of seven years; but here too her health did not improve, although the best medical attendance was resorted to, and at last terminated in a consumption, which plainly indicated her speedy dissolution. For on the 6th of September 1842 it pleased the Lord to relieve her from her sufferings and take her home to Himself. In this severe trial what could I do but resignedly submit to the Lord, who had so often helped me through so many trials and vicissitudes, and who I humbly trust and believe will in this bereavement even now in my 74th year help and sustain me. If I now take a retrospective view of my past life up to the present time, my 75th year, and while I am writing this, I find abundant proofs of my dear Saviour's grace, love, long-suffering, and patience, which He had bestowed upon me. But on my part too I am sensibly aware of many mistakes and have much cause for humbly beseeching Him. Lord enter not into judgment with thy poor servant, for if thou wouldst reckon with me I could not answer thee one in a thousand. Hence, I cannot otherwise, when I come to thee, than exclaim, Here comes a poor sinner who desires to be saved by grace alone. Until then I commend myself to the merciful consideration of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Amen.[12]

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[12] The following paragraphs are a translation of the conclusion of the Kluge Memoir which appeared in the *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine* (1854):

"Thus far Bro. Kluge's own words.

"In the last years of his life our departed brother had to experience a changing succession of days of sickness and of health. The former weakened him visibly for the space of a year; and increasingly severe dropsy caused him much suffering, testing his patience and his surrender to the will of his Lord. As long as he was able, he continued to share in the services, in which his heart found the greater comfort and encouragement, because . . . his own testimony concerning the love of Jesus for sinners, proclaimed with fervor in so many places, had served to bring comfort and quickening to many an oppressed soul. For the period of about eight weeks he grew considerably worse so that he urgently desired his release. He was committed to the Lord with the blessing of the Church a week before his departure took place. Thereafter he lay unconscious for most of the time, until he passed away on the evening of the 30th of January, 1849. He reached the age of 80 years, three months, and twenty-eight days."

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ABRAHAM LUCKENBACH[1]

ABRAHAM LUCKENBACH was born May 5, 1777, in Upper Saucon, Lehigh County, about nine miles from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where his father "had bought a small estate upon which he sought to support himself by tanning and shoe-making." In 1779 his parents, who had become interested in the Brethren, removed to the vicinity of Bethlehem and subsequently joined the church. Luckenbach's mother died when he was but four years old, and from his stepmother, Elizabeth Partsch Luckenbach, a devout member of the congregation, Luckenbach and his younger brother received most of their training. Abraham was a frail child, but attended the Boys' School at Bethlehem part of the time from 1780 to 1785.

In 1786 the elder Luckenbach moved to Hope, New Jersey, where he had charge of the congregational farm. Here Abraham divided his time between the farm and school, and in 1789 was received into the congregation. His father, failing in health and unable to continue the supervision of Abraham's upbringing, apprenticed the boy to a cabinetmaker in Bethlehem. Young Luckenbach began the new work in January, 1792, applying himself diligently under a good master. In strange surroundings and troubled by a temporary deafness which followed a cold, he spent some unhappy months. He turned for comfort to the church, and upon recovering his hearing, devoted his spare time to the study of music under the tutelage of the choirmaster.

Luckenbach's apprenticeship ended in 1797 when he reached the age of twenty. Toward the end of that year he went to Nazareth, expecting to begin a cabinet shop in the Brethren's House. This plan fell through, but he

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[1] The autobiography is printed in full in Stocker's "History of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians on the White River," Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, 10:361-408. Because of its length only the section treating with that mission is reprinted in full, with a summary of preceding and succeeding sections.

Abraham Luckenbach, about 1845

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was offered and accepted a teaching position at Nazareth Hall.

"In the beginning," he says, "I had no intention of giving myself permanently to this service, but intended later on to return to my trade. It was not long, however, before I came to the decision to yield myself entirely to the guidance of the Saviour. Since I had but a common-school education, I fully realized that I would find it necessary to employ all my time to attain the necessary qualifications for my work. Outside of my school hours, my chief effort was the study of the sciences and the practice of music. I resolved to learn as much as possible, for which reason I laid the nights under contribution, and barely took sufficient exercise for my health."

This was a period of hard study and rigorous self-searching. His teaching became his greatest joy. "The longer I was at it, the more devoted I became to teaching. My teaching days were the pleasantest of my life," he says, and confesses that only after a struggle did he accept the call which came in September, 1800, to accompany Brother and Sister Kluge to White River, Indiana Territory, there to found a new mission among the Delawares. His remaining time at Nazareth was devoted to the study of Loskiel's account of the missions in North America.

There follows the story of the mission to White River, Indiana: "During the latter part of September, I closed my labors at Nazareth Hall and made my way to Bethlehem, where Bro. J. P. Kluge and I were in a solemn manner ordained and consecrated as deacons of the Brethren's Church, October 15, by Bishop Koehler, of Salem, who was at Bethelehem at the time, being on his way to Europe. I was still more strengthened, and deeply resolved: 'What soul and body can accomplish, I will do with all my heart, to His honor and praise.'

"After the necessary preparations for the journey had been made and we had been commended to the gracious protection of the Lord, in the congregational meeting of the evening before, we left, October 19, on our journey from Bethlehem to Lititz, travelling in a baggage-wagon. The weather was very unpleasant. At Lititz, we remained a number of days in the midst of the dear congregation and enjoyed much love, whereupon we proceeded on our journey by way of Mannheim, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Shippensburg, where we reached the Blue Mountains, the way leading over large rocks and rough roads. In company with other freight-wagons, we at last reached the other side of the Allegheny Mountains, which proved still more rocky and steep. A very durable wagon was needed to stand the hard knocks. In company with the other teams, everything passed off pleasantly until the night [before] we reached Pittsburg, where we struck a very bad hotel. We did not find out how bad, however, until it was too late. Because the landlord himself was a worldly man and a free-lance, and welcomed bad company, the Pittsburg teamsters made his hotel a loafing-place. After we had retired for the night, the uproar in front of the house began. There were drunken yells, cursing and fighting, and finally the tumult was transferred to the inside of the hotel, where the smashing of tables and chairs and threats to set fire to the building ensued. Finally they began to dance, the landlord whistling for it and leading the dancing. The chief offender was, to our great amazement, a teamster who had travelled with us for four or five days and, in our company, acted in a very retiring and quiet manner. Here, however, he had met with a man against whom he had a grudge and had challenged him to fight. He became so unruly and terrible, and raged about with such blood-curdling oaths that it seemed as if he was possessed with evil spirits. If the night had not been so dark, we would have left with our team. The most astonishing thing of all was to see this man, who had disturbed us all night with his terrible cursing, and who had behaved as if he was wild, seat himself at the table with us, in the morning, the same quiet and retiring person he was the day before, just as if he knew nothing whatever of what had happened, and as before, he silently travelled with us for the rest of the way to Pittsburg.

"From the last place, we drove for forty miles down along the Ohio River to Georgetown, where we had to leave a part of our baggage or chests, because the road from here to the Muskingum had been but recently cut open, and besides was very hilly and but little travelled. (At this time there were as yet no white people in this region.) After we had lodged in the woods for three nights, we reached the Oneleg Creek, by the Indians called Gutgatsink, about twenty-one miles from the Muskingum. Here, to our great joy, we met Indians from Goshen on the Muskingum, with a letter from the Brethren Zeisberger and Mortimer. The Indians had been sent to meet us, but at the same time they had been here for bear-hunting. This company consisted of the old Indian Chief Gelelemend, or as afterwards called, William Henry Kilbuck, and his three sons, John, Charles and Gottlieb, who all welcomed us. Their friendly faces, in their hunter's lodge, constructed of tree branches and covered with bark, was a welcome sight to us, and aroused in me a great affection for them. I felt at once that I could be at home among these people, all the more because they made us feel their brotherly love and showed us every imaginable courtesy. When we were about ten miles from the Muskingum River, having reached Stillwater Creek or Gegelemakpechink, we left our freight-wagon and sent it to Gnadenhuetten, while we followed on horses after the Indian Chief, William Henry Kilbuck, who, as our guide, rode on a horse ahead of us. He led us to Goshen, often through brushes and brambles, and we had to be on our guard not to be caught by them, because he rode so fast. After some hours of riding, we arrived safe and sound at Goshen, November 19, to our and to our white and Indian brethren's joy, and with a deep feeling of gratitude to our dear Lord for His gracious protection and safe guidance on our four weeks' journey. We were affectionately welcomed by the dear Brethren D. Zeisberger and Mortimer and the small Indian Congregation, consisting of about fifty souls.

"We were quartered in a small log-house about ten feet square, but as the sleeping-room was not large enough, I found my lodging for the night with Bro. and Sr. Zeisberger, whose house, like that of Bro. and Sr. Mortimer, was about fifteen feet square. The chimney or fire-place was constructed of laths and clay, by means of which the whole room or house, which had no partitions, could be heated. The settlement was laid out but two years previously, therefore the furnishings of the house were of the scantiest. Bedsteads and chairs there were none. What there was of furniture had been made from rough boards with the aid of auger and broad-axe. The bed was made of boards and the table and seats consisted of trestles, or logs with holes bored into them and wooden legs inserted. While eating, the last named were indeed precious pieces of furniture in this home. The fire-wood, of which there was a great deal in the neighborhood, had to be chopped into blocks and split and then brought on a wheelbarrow or sled to the house, since there was no other means at hand of carrying it. The Indian women brought their fire-wood on their backs, to which they tied it with straps, or on their heads, or even had it hang down from their foreheads, which in the beginning not only seemed pitiful to me, but it astonished me to notice what heavy loads they carried in this manner.

"As far as the mode of life of the Indian brethren is concerned, on the whole, one was reminded of the primitive condition of men, when art and science were still hidden in the background and only necessity received the preference, and one knew nothing of luxury and conveniences. The Indian mode of living is very simple. The possessions of a well-to-do family—and many do not have that much—consist of a number of horses and perhaps an equal number of cows, a number of pigs, and a number of dogs, which serve them while hunting. Their farming is for the most part limited to two or three acres of corn for each family. At that time, the land was usually worked with the hoe. The work of the field, together with the harvesting of the corn, the crushing of it in a mortar and the baking of it into bread, and the bringing of the fire-wood is regarded as woman's work, with which young men, who regard themselves as hunters, will not readily have anything to do. Their houses usually consist of small log-huts, about 14-15 feet square, with a chimney from the rafters up, and below an open fireplace, so that their beds may be brought on both sides of it and all in the house may have free access to it. Their beds are covered with deer or bear-skins and with a number of woolen blankets, which also serve as clothing, the former serving them during the day, as seats, and at night as their bed. The household utensils consist of a number of copper or brass kettles, iron pans, wooden bowls, tin-pails and dippers. For eating they usually employ a knife only, their fingers serving them as forks. Their food is very simple and generally consists of corn-bread, corn or bean-soup boiled with or without meat. For corn-soup, the corn is first crushed into small pieces. As a general thing they eat but two regular meals a day. At the same time, if they have it, the kettle of soup hangs over the fire all day long, from which any visitor who is hungry, as well as the children of the family may help themselves at will. At this time, hunting was still very good in that region, since this neighborhood had only been opened up a few years before and inhabited by white people; also because it had been abandoned by the Indian Nations sixteen or eighteen years ago, so that the wild game, especially bear, was very plentiful in the mountainous region between the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, and by our Indian brethren hunted with success.

"There was therefore no lack of meat among them at that time. On the other hand, bread was scarce, because bread-flour and even corn had to be brought from the Ohio River, from sixty to seventy miles away. I soon became convinced that it was not comfort which one enjoyed that gave one a quiet and contented heart, for in spite of wants with which these people were surrounded, one found no anxious care nor heard sullen complaints among them They seemed to be content with what they had and were patient in their bearing. The meetings were usually well attended and the Word of God listened to with attention, in spite of the fact that progress in obedience to the Word was slow, as well as in the putting aside of many heathen customs and especially of the vice of drinking, so common among them. All this called for much patience and forbearance among them. Because there was thus far no printed literature in the Delaware language, with the exception of a spelling-book, I busied myself as much as possible with copying Bro. D. Zeisberger's Delaware translations of a collection of hymns and liturgies, besides the Delaware grammar which was at hand, and, in addition, sought to learn as much as possible of the language. I soon learned, however, that it would require much labor and study, besides verbal intercourse, before I could master the language, because the dialects and the construction of the language were so different from other tongues. Very agreeable and interesting it was to me to make the acquaintance of the old, venerable Missionary, David Zeisberger, who was then in his eightieth year; to enjoy intercourse with him and to hear him relate his many experiences among the Indians and the remarkable assistance of God in connection with them.

"Simplicity of heart, childlikeness and trust in the Lord under all circumstances, besides patient perseverance, was what sustained him by the grace of God. Self-interest, and anything that had nothing to do with the honor of God and the spread of His kingdom, went against him and he would not listen to such things. The opportunity which at this time offered itself to take the gospel to the Indian country and to the many Indians baptized in former times, who since the dispersion of the Indian congregation, in the year 1782, were living among the heathen, or to individual Indians who had not found their way back again into the Indian congregation, but who were now to be hunted up again and given a chance to return,—this was a theme which inflamed his heart hungering for souls, as often as it was talked about. In spite of his great age, he would have gladly gone to the Indian country himself, and he would have overcome the difficulties connected with the undertaking with a joyful heart and trust in the Lord, if circumstances had allowed him to go.

"Although the invitation, extended to the Indian congregation at Goshen, to come and live among their country-men on the White River, opened the door to take the gospel into the Indian country, there was still lack of positive evidence that the Indian brethren would be permitted to bring their teachers with them. Bro. D. Zeisberger, therefore, sent two young Indian brethren, namely, Charles Henry Kilbuck and Jacob Pemcholind, with a message to the Delaware Chiefs on the White River. They left for their destination after the Epiphany festival on January 6, 1801, and returned during the middle of February after having traversed a distance of six hundred miles on foot. They reported that the Goshen Indians would be welcome to bring their teachers along, and that a separate place, lying between the Indian towns, would be given for the new settlement. They further reported that the White River Indians would come and meet them with horses, after they had reached the end of their water-journey down the Ohio River. After this report had been delivered, canoes were built, and a very large one for the missionaries, so that we could put all our chests and boxes into it. Two Indians went along to paddle our canoe. Four Indian families with four canoes, all together thirteen persons, accompanied us.

"After we were quite ready for the journey and we had taken a hearty farewell from our dear white and brown brethren at Goshen, we set out, on high waters, and floated down the Muskingum River. In this way we proceeded rapidly and after a night spent with our brethren at Gnadenhuetten, reached the Ohio River a number of days later. The weather was still cold. The swollen waters of the Ohio helped us forward rapidly, although, after the manner of Indian travel, it was often quite late in the day before we could proceed with our journey. We also had to stop frequently to shoot game, as there were still long stretches of woods on both sides of the river. At Cincinnati, which was still in its infancy and consisted of about six stores and several hotels, and had no court-house as yet, we met a good friend by the name of Major Ziegler, who at that time and later rendered us many services. He formerly served in the American Revolution under General Wayne, but he had built a store and was now in business. He offered to look after our letters and money matters and to furnish us with other necessary articles.

"From here we journeyed twenty-five miles farther, until we reached the mouth of the Big Miami River, which we went up for seven miles until we reached the mouth of White Water Creek, and thence up that stream for about eighteen miles until we came to the second arm thereof, where our water-journey ended. Here we landed, April 15, unloaded our things and erected a camp in the neighborhood of the frontier-line of the Indian country, about eighty miles from the Indian villages on the White River, where we wanted to go. Since we could no longer use our canoes, we left them with a number of white people who had recently settled in this wild region, and who had helped us up the White Water stream. Before we took leave of the inhabitants of this neighborhood, who had settled about eight miles up this little stream, we purchased several milch-cows and also provided ourselves with some flour and corn for the journey, through the woods, which now lay before us. From here, too, we sent a messenger to the White River to announce to the Delaware Chiefs that we had now reached the landing place in our travels and awaited their promised help. The messenger came back, however, with the unpleasant tidings that the Indian Chiefs had gone to Post Vincennes to a council with Governor Harrison, and the hunters had not yet returned with their horses from the winter's hunt, though the latter were expected soon. There was therefore no help to be expected at an early time from that quarter, and now the school of patience began, for thus far everything had gone quite easily by water, since we could get along nicely with our boxes and baggage in the canoe. In the evening, we would draw near land, tie our canoe, and then erect our tent on the banks for the night. In the morning we would enter the canoe again and proceed on our journey.

"Now, however, we saw no way of forwarding all our things and chattels without pack-horses. How gladly we would have unburdened ourselves somewhat, if we could only have done so without loss! So as not to remain at our landing-place, our Indian brethren offered to take the lightest of our things, five miles farther, on their backs and there erect a tent. Nevertheless, one could easily see that this could not continue any length of time, in spite of their great willingness. With the help of a horse found in the woods, which had been brought in by one of the hunters, all of our things were in this way conveyed five miles farther, in three days, but the courage of the Indian brethren began to sink when they saw that their strength was not equal to the task, and that the provisions would not last at that rate.

"After we had spent many days under these conditions, and had at last moved forward ten miles, quite unexpectedly an Indian came to us with a number of horses. He was the brother of our Indian Sister Mary, Jacob Pemcholind's wife, who was our traveling companion. This gave us hope that we would after all be helped in some things, but when it came to the point, he declared that he would allow Sr. Kluge a horse on which to ride, but otherwise he would only help his sister and her husband, for which purpose he had come. Meanwhile, five more miles were covered in this way, so that we had proceeded fifteen miles in all but had consumed two weeks and a half, without any prospects that we would receive help from the Indian Chiefs. Since our provisions were rapidly disappearing, for though we had no lack of wild game and meat, it was feared that there would be a corn and bread famine before we would reach the end of our journey, we resolved to try and secure horses from traders. Just as we were about to move forward another five miles, I was asked to make my way, in company with a savage Indian by the name of Wangomind, who had joined our party, to the Indian village of Woapicamikunk or the so-called White Grave, and procure pack-horses from the Indian traders.

"Lightly clad and with a blanket, in which I had wrapped my provisions, fastened by a strap to my shoulders and hanging down my back, with rapid strides, I followed my guide with his gun on his shoulder and tomahawk and knife at his side and a piece of dried deer meat hanging over his shoulder. He looked very friendly and took pains to please me, and prided himself not a little that I reposed such great confidence in him as to trust myself to his guidance. Since he believed me to be in a great hurry to arrive at my destination, without stopping once, he ran over the trail, through water standing in dells, which were all full on account of the excessive rains, up to the knees. At first, I picked my way over old logs or fallen trees so as to keep dry, but having lost sight of my guide a number of times, and having to strain myself very much to catch up with him again, I learned by experience not to spare either myself or my clothing, and followed him right through the water everywhere, and saw that in this way I could keep up with him. This pleased him greatly, feeling that I had already learned this much from him. Since I could not speak with him, and he desired to make a halt, he pointed with his finger to the sun to announce to me that it was dinner-time. He cut off several pieces of his dried venison, and in a very friendly manner offered me one of them, which I did not refuse, and handed him in return, a piece of my bread, which he took with loud approval. After we had smoked a pipe together, we proceeded on our journey. Along the trail at various intervals, we found hunters' huts made from the bark of trees, which served the hunter with shelter, but which were now forsaken. In one of them we found quarters for the night and dried our clothing. Next day toward evening, we reached the first Indian village, after having covered a distance of 60-65 miles. Here we met a trader by the name of John Connor, whose father formerly belonged to the Indian congregation on the Muskingum. Willing as he seemed to be to help us in our trouble, it was very discouraging to have come all this long way in vain, because he told me that all his pack-horses, laden with furs, had been sent to Fort Wayne several days previous, and that he knew of no horses to be had from the Indians, since they were still off on their hunting-grounds. But he said he would do what he could for us. As he was at the point of going out, a respected Indian, with his family, and a number of horses, arrived, and, upon being asked where he was going, he said that he was about to meet his father-in-law, Jacob Pemcholind, since he had heard that the travellers had need of horses. Mr. Connor thought, and I, too, was of the opinion, that we might be helped, and accordingly began my return journey at once, in company with the Indian and his horses.

"On the second day after we left Woapicamikunk we reached the rest of the party. But, to our no little terror and sorrow, we met here a company of Delaware Indians, who were on their way home from the settlement of the white people, where they had exchanged their skins and furs for whisky, which they had loaded, in small barrels, on their horses and were now in the act of bringing to the Indian village to sell. The liquor traffic is lucrative among them because the Indian will give the last of his possessions for whisky. We soon saw a sorrowful scene that we could not escape. Not only the heathen Indians with us, but, with the exception of several, our own as well, seated themselves around the whisky and a two-day's carousal ensued, in connection with which the air resounded with terrible yelling, by day and by night. We kept ourselves out of the way of it by hiding a short distance away. How sad and discouraging this occurrence was for us, especially here in the woods among these people, one may readily imagine! And it was but a foretaste of the state of the people to whom we had come to preach the gospel. The Lord, however, who had called us to this undertaking, sustained our courage and strength of body and soul, and enabled us to continue our journey trustfully. After everybody had become sober again, the packing up was begun.

"But we soon learned that in our expectation of help we had deceived ourselves, because this Indian said what the other had told us before him, namely, that he had no pack-horse for us, that he had come with the sole intention of assisting his father-in-law, Jacob Pemcholind. Nevertheless, we secured a horse from each of them. Upon these we could forward the lightest of our baggage, while the rest, still about five horse loads, had to be left behind under guard of an Indian family. Thus, on May 2, after having spent nearly five weeks in the woods, we brought our two cows and the lightest things at last to the first Indian village, Woapicamikunk. We had consumed all our provisions with the exception of one loaf of bread. This Bro. and Sr. Kluge shared with me, when I returned from here, with five pack-horses and one of our Indians, to get our things which were left behind, about fifty miles away. Bro. and Sr. Kluge, together with the Indians who had preceded us, made their way down the White River from Woapicamikunk to a green spot on the river, twenty miles away, and within three miles of Anderson Town. This was the place which had been designated for our settlement. In about six or seven days I arrived there too, very tired and half-starved, and found them under the shelter of bark-covered huts. We rejoiced together that we had at last reached the end of our journey of weeks, and thanked our dear Lord, who had brought us safely thus far and had kept us well and happy in spite of the many difficulties connected with our journey. On the right bank of the river, on an elevation surrounded by dense woods, we erected our dwelling. We lacked nothing more, at this time, than a number of good axe-men to help us make a clearing and to build houses or good log-huts. But it was the beginning of June and consequently late for planting as it was, therefore the first thing to be done was to get some corn and garden vegetables into the ground. To this end the plains, which lay opposite our place and which had rich soil and were overgrown with high grass, served a good purpose. We mowed down the grass and got into the ground with the hoe and planted the necessary field and garden vegetables. There were no fences, but these were not so necessary, in the beginning, while the Indian brethren had no cattle.

"Among the Indian brethren who had come with us from Goshen and who desired to build here, there were but two who could handle the axe well. These two were therefore useful to us in building, first of all, a summer hut, and in covering it over with the bark of trees, as well as later, during the summer months, in felling trees and getting them in shape for a winter house for us. These were our interpreter Joshua and a helper by the name of John Thomas. Articles of food were very expensive and rare, because flour had to be brought through the woods, on the horses of the traders, from the nearest settlement of the white people, which was eighty miles away from the Miami River and White Water stream, so that flour sold to us cost six dollars a hundred. During the first summer, corn was sold for two dollars a bushel among the Indians and even at that price could scarcely be had. The latter article, however, has to be reckoned according to the Indian value of silver buckles, so that the sum is not equivalent to that amount in money.

"At the same time, we seldom lacked meat, which does not keep long in summer and consequently could be bought from the Indians for a small sum. They went after deer for their skins and frequently left a part of the meat lying in the woods. This was not the case, however, with bears' meat, which was more scarce and had greater value among them. Therefore, we and our Indian brethren lived on that which the gracious Providence of our dear Heavenly Father provided for us, and although we had no great abundance, we had to answer: 'Lord, never!' to the question: 'Did ye ever lack anything?' Naturally we had to deny ourselves many things, under the circumstances, which one could enjoy in other places. In the beginning, our meetings here, as well as on our journey, had to be kept under the open sky. Some oak trees which stood in front of our huts, served a good purpose in this connection. These afforded beautiful shade, in which we used benches made of split wood. In the beginning, these services were attended by painted savages from the Indian village named Anderson Town, which lay down stream and whose Chief called himself Anderson or Kiktuchwenind. He was a half-breed who belonged to a certain family by that name, at the ferry at Harrisburg. He was not inclined, however, to Christianity, but sought to make his people averse to it.

"Our old Indian Brother Joshua was our interpreter. In his youth he learned the German language at Bethlehem, and could read the German Bible with ease. In the years of his childhood, he also played the organ a little. Because he could also write well, we had opportunity to learn a good deal of the Delaware language from him. He and his invalid son were the first of our people who helped us erect a little log-hut, fourteen feet square, which served also, in the beginning, as a meeting-place.

"The building of our house, which was to be 16 feet square and made of prepared lumber, progressed slowly and with difficulty, partly because we had to struggle against attacks of fever during the summer, and partly because we lacked the necessary help, the Indian brethren having enough work of their own. Nevertheless, we got so far that, by the beginning of November, we could move into our winter quarters. We lacked a great many necessities in general and money in particular. The nearest postoffice was at Cincinnati, which lay a hundred and twenty-five miles southeast of us. I made a journey there in November. I went on foot to the upper Indian village, Woapicamikunk, where I hired a horse and rode through the woods for three days, to the border inhabitants on the Big Miami, arriving first at Fort Hamilton and then at Cincinnati, which at that time was still an insignificant place. In the latter town I met Major Ziegler, whose acquaintance we had made before. He supplied me with the necessary things. My horse was well-loaded and I had to make my way home through the woods, on foot, from Fort Hamilton. In like manner, I had to make this journey every year, from two to three times, as long as we stayed on the White River, and, with several exceptions, I travelled alone on horseback through the woods. On these occasions I not only enjoyed the protection of the Lord by day and by night, so that I never suffered any injury to amount to anything, either at the hands of men or beasts, but I became strongly and comfortably conscious of His loving presence, in my loneliness. During the inclement seasons of the year I generally carried a small tent with me and put it up in front of some fallen tree. During the night I kept a large fire going and lay on a blanket spread on the ground, my saddle serving me as a pillow.

"My horse usually gave me the greatest care, because I had to allow him sufficient freedom during the night to seek his nourishment in the neighborhood. For this reason, I was in danger of losing both myself and horse in the woods. As I was all alone, this might have happened very easily. Good people often advised me not to travel alone through the woods without a weapon, as it was known why I made the journey and since I had money on my person on my return trip, because there was no lack of bad people on the frontier who might make use of such an opportunity to maltreat me or to rob me. I always answered, however: 'Thus far the Lord has preserved me from all danger, and I will trust Him further, for if He will withdraw His protection, then surely no weapon can save me.' Although I was not very much afraid of wolves, because one seldom heard in this community that they attacked men, nevertheless I was often disturbed by their terrible howling during the night, and, as they do not readily come near a fire, I kept up a good one.

"The fact that we lived a great distance from white people made it very troublesome or inconvenient for us in many respects. At the same time, conditions were more favorable on this account because the destructive liquor traffic was carried on to too great an extent, as it was. If the hurtful beverage was not brought in by the traders, it was not too far for the Indians, when about to celebrate certain heathen festivals, to go four or five days' journey to the Ohio River and bring from five to six horse loads, after which the whole Indian village concerned would be plunged into the most pitiful and terrible state, since nearly all the inhabitants of both sexes, children and minors not excepted, gave themselves over to drink, and people from other Indian towns came on horseback to assist in the wickedness, which seldom passed off without wounds and bumps, yes, and seldom without homicide and murder.

"The first summer we were visited by some of the older Chiefs, namely, Pakantschihilas and Tetepachsit. The first was an old warrior of renown but a hardened pagan and an enemy of the conversion of his people to Christianity. The latter was the first and oldest Chief of his Nation. In the year 1802, he visited with some of his people in the city of Washington, as well as at Lititz, where the brethren showed him many honors. When they visited us, they told us that they had given their people liberty to visit us and to hear the gospel or Word of God, and that they would admonish them not to do us any hurt, and not to come through our settlement when drunk. But soon after, we heard that they worked hard against having their people come to us and becoming obedient to the Christian teaching, because they believed that they would thereby lose their own dignity and power. They also expressed their displeasure that only some of the Indian families from the Muskingum had come, since all had been invited by them.

"Besides the Chiefs mentioned, of whom the first had his seat in Woapicamikunk, where about forty Indian families lived, and the latter, with about eight families, in Monsy Town, four miles down stream; there were two other Chiefs named Hackinkpomska and Kiktuchwenind, who were our nearest neighbors. The former lived with his people eight miles up stream, and the latter three miles down stream from us in Anderson Town, with about fifteen or sixteen Delaware families. Below them were some small Indian villages of which the last was called Sarah Town, because Isaac and Sarah, two baptized Indians, had settled there with their sons, who had become heathen. The parents were dead, and the sons would not leave their heathenism and come to us and accept the Word of God, since they were highly respected among the heathen.

"In every Indian town there was a so-called long-house, about forty feet in length and twenty feet wide, in which the savages held their sacrifices and dances. It also served as a Council House. These houses were built of split logs set together between dug-in posts, and were provided with a roof, consisting of tree-bark or clapboards, resting on strong pillars dug into the earth. The entrance was at both gable-ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance. In the roof there were openings over every fire, so that the smoke could escape. Along the inside of the house there were seats or elevations from the ground about a foot high and five feet wide. These were first covered with the bark of trees and then with long grass. On them the guests sat, or if they felt like it, lay down and smoked their pipes, while the others were engaged in dancing.

"The dances of the Indians are generally held in honor of their protecting deities, concerning whom they declared that they once upon a time appeared unto them in a dream, in one or another form, for example, in that of a large bird; that they talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives, or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them. Those who had the former dreams, on such occasions step forward, holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn. Then the one who is to lead the dance, in honor of the protecting deity, advances. After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand amid many grimaces, he stops, and, speaking in a loud tone of voice, he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him. When he is finished with it, he turns about and faces those who want to join him in the dance. These are arranged in a row and equipped with bells fastened to their legs and arms. The bells consist of deer-hoofs and all sorts of silver trinkets in the shape of crescents, scrapers and bracelets. These are so fastened to the body that a jarring sound is produced at every step taken. Two Indians, sitting at the side, beat the time with sticks, on a dried deer-skin made for the occasion, while the whole crowd moves forward with short, regular steps, which all take at the same time at certain abrupt intervals. Meanwhile the leader relates his dream in lines, which are repeated during the dance and drum-beating. The leader cuts many capers and jumps up and down. This is all in harmony with the time, and brings to light the skill of the dance. In this manner, the whole mass, the men first and the women following them, moves around in the house until they come again to the place from which they started, whereupon all gather around the post or pillar standing in the middle and upon which the roof rests. Upon both sides of this pillar are cut men's faces, provided with hair and painted, making a hideous appearance. In conclusion, all stretch out their hands toward the totem, and with a terribly shrill yell the dance comes to an end, whereupon all take their places again. After a short pause, another steps forward, when the same performance is repeated. These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time. At the conclusion a sacrificial feast is held, for which the deer and bear-meat is provided by all joining in a common hunt, the women furnishing a store of corn-bread. All is prepared, in common, in the house of sacrifice, and there partaken of amid certain ceremonies. For example, the bread is arbitrarily thrown among the guests, and each one catches as much as he can. In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice, and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property. Before I could understand the language very well, I had the opportunity of attending such a dance for half of a night, and that at Woapicamikunk. There were present a large number of Indians, besides Chiefs.

"John Connor, the trader mentioned above, who had a Delaware Indian for a wife and with whom I stayed over night, invited me to the dance and introduced me. He himself appeared to be very much taken with it. He said that the Indians in this way sought to serve their god, and that he had learned to know many of them whose dreams had been fulfilled; in fact, their dreams, with few exceptions, generally came true. He himself danced with them and had not gotten much farther in knowledge than the heathen. On such occasions, the Chiefs addressed their people, both the men and women, and, although they themselves did not abstain, strictly prohibited the use of strong drink, fornication, adultery, stealing, lying, cheating, murder, and urged hospitality, love, unity, as things well-pleasing to God, which is proof that even the heathen is not without knowledge of good and evil and therefore has a conscience which accuses or excuses him, and which will also judge him. It was customary among them on these occasions to erect tents around the outside of the Council House. After the ceremonies were over, they went, in companies, from one tent to the other to visit and to greet one another with a mutual handshake. In connection with this, they assumed a solemn mien and used courtly language according to the age or circumstances of the family addressed. All this makes a good outward show to one who does not know them or their circumstances. But, after one has made a closer acquaintance with them, one learns, unfortunately, how they distrust one another, even their nearest relatives, because of poisoning, witchcraft and the black art, so that really not one confides in another. When one of their relatives dies, whether old or young, it is not at all unusual for one or the other of the relatives, or even some one else, to be suspected of having brought about the death either by poisoning or witchcraft. The fellowship of love is therefore unknown among them, and on such occasions they merely make a pretense, because they are really afraid of one another. One sees from this how far imagination, stimulated by fear, causes such people, who are still in the grip of superstition, to go. Because their hearts are evil they cannot think well of one another.

"Their useless worship of God is based on sensual enjoyment and preferences and applies itself to the desire of long life, wealth, honor and good fortune, and not infrequently supernatural powers and communion with the protecting deities, who are to grant them respect and dignity. Such as pretend to have this privilege generally succeed in gaining certain advantages over others, but at the same time, they also run the great risk of being looked upon as evil persons, who put others out of the way by means of this art and supernatural power. Of such things the minds of the Indians of both sexes are full and so deeply rooted are they that even those who have accepted Christianity and believe that through Jesus' death they are delivered from the power of sin and of Satan, still insist that such evil powers exist among the heathen, and that they can kill each other by means of secret poison and the black art, and therefore easily give room to suspicion that such things do happen.

"Special grace is therefore needed for such as have been converted from heathenism to Christianity, especially under certain circumstances as, for example, sickness, that they may be kept from seeking help from the sorcerers who claim that, by means of their art, they can cure or drive out disease, and rather resolve to die in faith in the Saviour and to inherit eternal life than by means of an evil power to become physically well and then be eternally lost.

"If one tells the heathen of the world's Saviour or Son of God, that He became man to deliver us from the power of sin and of Satan, that He was by wicked men nailed to the cross and put to death and again arose from the dead and ascended into Heaven, they usually turn off the matter by saying that they had no part in the death of the Son of God, since it did not happen in their country nor at the hands of their Nation. On the other hand, they relate that God, their Protector, had also appeared unto them from Heaven once upon a time, and that in winter, in the midst of a snow-storm, and that He had large snow-shoes on His feet; that He had stayed with them for a long time and prescribed to them their mode of life and sacrificial feasts, which they had followed strictly ever since. They had not dealt so wickedly with their God, but had reverently dismissed Him again, and therefore did not have to reproach themselves on account of it like the white people, who said of themselves that they had crucified the Son of God.

"Others declared that God had indeed given the Bible or written book to the white people who could read it, but to the Indians or children of the forest He had given the hunting-grounds, sacrificial feasts, and had shown them another mode of life; the former could therefore seek to live up to what God had commanded them, while they felt it their duty to hold fast to that which He had appointed for them. Others again are of the opinion, which is not generally held among them, however, that the Indians did not come from the same source as the white people, but had been created separately, for which reason they were not allowed to adopt the customs of the white people and to regulate themselves according to their religion. Such declare that because of the acceptance of the white man's religion on the part of some, their gods had become angry and sought their destruction; that their deities wanted to take away from them their land and all customs and liberties, including the use of whisky, which was the discovery of the whites, as well as their silver and their gold, and the practice of usury among them, all of which they regarded as an evil in the world, and as originally unknown among their race, and something that had been brought upon them by the white people.

"Others who were unfriendly to the preaching of the gospel were not ashamed to declare that we came among them for political reasons; that our object was to preach to them in order that they might be made tame and afterwards delivered over to the white people, as was the case in the war on the Muskingum. All this proved to us clearly that, while we stayed among these people, we had to battle against the prince of darkness, into whose realm we had come, and that we could not expect that he, without great opposition, would allow himself to be so readily robbed of his booty, since the Indians were willing, with lies and false reasoning, however absurd, to harden themselves against the truth and the light which was to lighten the way out of their prison, and not to accept it because they loved their darkness more.

"Now I want to continue with the history of our sojourn among these people. The first years two baptized persons came to us who had lived for eighteen years among the heathen and had become old, their children having grown up in heathenism. Their names were Christina and Louisa. The latter was re-admitted to the Holy Communion.[2] But since their children had no desire to follow them, and they could not support themselves, without their help, in our Indian congregation, which was weak and needy itself, they soon moved back again to their children. Our stay, however, made an impression on a number of sick persons who had themselves brought to the settlement. They forsook heathenism, were baptized, and later died and were buried in our village. During the five years of our work on the White River, only two persons, who were in health, were baptized, namely, a Pottewatemi and a Monsy woman. Undoubtedly we would have had more increase in population if our numbers had been large, and we had not been quite so afraid of false growth, which surely would have brought us a great deal of trouble. A woman, who belonged to us, allowed herself to be persuaded by her heathen relatives to resort to sorcery in the hope of being made well. Instead of recovering she died, whereupon we refused permission to have her buried on our graveyard according to the heathen custom, which incurred the enmity of her relatives. This occurrence and the fact that Indians came from their carousals in the neighboring Indian village and took the liberty, if it so pleased them, of shooting our best swine and taking them away, against which we could not defend ourselves, were unpleasant experiences. We therefore made a move in the spring of 1806 to find out whether it would not be possible to settle at another place in the neighborhood, where we would be farther away from the Indians. At the time mentioned, namely, at the beginning of March, in company with our old interpreter, Bro. Joshua, I made a tour of inspection to the Mississiniway stream, which is an arm of the Wabash.

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[2] No Indian by the name of Christina is mentioned in the Diary. Two old widows, Anna Salome and Louisa, lived at the Mission for a time and Anna Salome was readmitted to the Communion.

"Our way there took us through Woapicamikunk, where we found the Delaware and Monsy Nations in the midst of their annual sacrificial festival and dance, but this time, not, as is usually the case, in honor of their gods, but chiefly for the purpose of discovering all those guilty of using poison, witch-doctors, and witches in their nation, and then putting them to death, because they declared that these evil-doers were the cause that so many of the people died and reached no great age. The young men, therefore, banded together and took the rule into their own hands. In a council held by themselves in the woods, they declared their resolution to destroy all poisoners and sorcerers among them, so that not so many of their people would die and they themselves would become older. It was therefore resolved that every one of their people suspected of being guilty of these evils should be brought before their grandfather—that is, fire—and if he would surrender his poison and give up his bad art, he should be pardoned. But, if he should refuse, he should be killed with the tomahawk and have his body thrown into the fire.

"On the same day that this decision was reached in the upper Indian town Woapicamikunk, which was twenty miles from our place, the Indian Bro. Joshua and I arrived there, in the evening, on our way to the Mississiniway stream, where we wanted to see if we could find our future place of residence. We camped with an Indian family, which had its tent not far from other Indians, who had come from the Indian towns, and had erected their tents near the house of sacrifice. We soon heard with astonishment of the new developments and saw that there was a great commotion among the savages. The fixed stares and earnest faces, especially of the older people of both sexes showed it, because there was no telling how the matter would end. Next morning we resumed our journey and examined the place to which we went, remained there over night, and then began our homeward journey, but without coming too near to the meeting-place of the Indians, which we tried to pass unnoticed. We remained over night in Monsy Town, and came home safely in the afternoon of the fourth day.

"We were hardly at home, however, for more than an hour, when seven young Indians, with faces painted black, made their appearance and immediately made known their errand, namely, that they had been ordered to bring Joshua before the council, because their old Chief Tetepachsit, who had been accused of being a poison-master, had declared that he had concealed his poison in Joshua's house during his stay there last winter, and that he had therefore to defend himself against the charge. All of us were very much frightened over this report, but never dreamed that any harm would come to him, when he should prove his innocence in the matter. After he had enjoyed a meal and had taken leave of us, without further ceremony, he accompanied them. Under the circumstances, he seemed quite calm and comforted. Perhaps he had no idea of his fate, because he was not conscious of any crime of that sort. But the wicked, lying spirit and murderer had him now in his power and he sought to take his revenge, though this was at the time unknown to Joshua and to us.

"When Joshua had arrived before the council in the upper town and had given answer to the accusation, he was declared innocent of the charge. But when he wanted to return home, he was detained under the pretext that another hearing awaited him and all who were accused, as they were expecting the well-known Schawano prophet (Tecumseh's brother), before whom all were to be examined, whether guilty or not, for a Monsy woman who had had an extraordinary vision and had swallowed three times, a light that had appeared to her, and who for that reason had thus far acted as judge, did not want to keep the office any longer, because it was too hard for her, being after all a woman. Joshua could not do otherwise very well than to undergo another examination in order that he might free himself from suspicion. But when he was brought before the Schawano prophet, this fellow said, no doubt having been previously instructed, that Joshua had no poison, but that he possessed the spirit of sorcery, with which he could kill people, if he wanted to surrender them to his guardian deity as a meal. This was sufficient to expose him to the suspicion and hatred of the superstitious people, among whom Satan had his special instruments, to carry out his wicked designs.

"Joshua was now led to a large fire and there surrounded. They insisted that he should confess how many people he had already put to death in the way mentioned above. But since he protested that he was innocent in the matter and had never caused the death of any one, and indeed could not in the manner he was accused of, it so happened, having been agreed upon previously no doubt, that one in the circle went to the fire with his tomahawk-pipe, as if he wanted to light it for smoking, having filled it with tobacco. But when he had come back from the fire, he struck, from behind, the tomahawk-hatchet into Joshua's head. This action was repeated by the others, whereupon amid heathenish yells, they threw his body into the fire and burned it in barbaric fashion.

"This was the sad end of our poor Indian Bro. Joshua. Of course he had a great many faults, but surely he was quite innocent of the charge, and became a victim of superstitious cruelty. Unfortunately, he had not always conducted himself as a model among the heathen. He was never quite free from superstition, and, in an hour of weakness, he boasted of a dream which he had had in his childhood. This boast he made while under the influence of whisky to which the heathen had tempted him. On that occasion, he told the Indians that if, after the heathen manner, he wanted to make use of the dream of his youth, he could also do evil, for in his vision a bird had appeared unto him and said: "I am a man-eater, and if you wish to feed me, you need but point out to me some one, and then I will put him out of the way." Thus it was that the Great Enemy was permitted to wreak vengeance on him and to become his accuser and murderer, so that the mission work might be brought to an end here.

"Joshua had made many heart-experiences and had great reverence for the gospel and the Holy Scripture, which he could read and understand well in the German language. He also possessed the ability to express himself intelligently in German, since he had learned to speak it in his youth in the children's institution at Bethlehem, and was afterwards employed as an interpreter. Still, he had never quite renounced connection with heathen sins and superstitions, so that his life unto the end consisted of falling and rising. At the same time, the Spirit of God labored with his heart, so that after he had fallen, he humbled himself as a great sinner and with tears of repentance begged for pardon. We did not doubt that the Saviour, in spite of this hard fate, had graciously received unto Himself his poor soul and counted it among the number who are made righteous through His blood. It is true, he did not die as a martyr, for the sake of God's Word, but still a great deal of jealousy, on the part of the enemy, may have fastened itself upon him, because of his service to the gospel as interpreter, as he frequently, with a warm heart, gave witness to the great sinner-love of God in Christ Jesus, to those who attended the meetings and visited him.

"On the same day that Joshua was murdered at Woapicamikunk or the upper Indian village, without our knowing anything about it, the old Chief Tetepachsit was brought to our place by six or seven black-painted savages and, without the least hesitation, they took a fire-brand out of one of the Indian brethren's house and hastened to a certain tree in the neighborhood, where the old Chief was said to have declared that he had concealed his poison. When they came there, they could not find any poison, which was also the case at other places to which they had gone previously. In spite of the declaration of his innocence and of his telling them of the great punishment to which they would expose themselves by putting him to death, since he had no poison, he was knocked down with a tomahawk, wielded by his grown-up son, in the same manner as related above, and then, after they had taken off his wampum-belt and other articles, his body was thrown into the fire.

"When these murderers returned to our place, some of those whom we knew came into our house, without our knowing what had happened. They, however, boasted of their terrible deed, and the son wore his father's belt and showed the articles which he had taken away from him, and said: 'This comes from him who cast off my mother and his oldest children and took unto himself a young wife.' We now feared for the fate of Joshua and we put in a few good words for him. One of them whom we knew well, said, however: 'We would not like to take him under our protection, because he is a wicked person and possesses supernatural powers with which he can destroy people, and he has undoubtedly taken a great many lives already.' But they left us under the impression that he was still alive.

"Next day I started out for Woapicamikunk with the hope of after all doing something for our Joshua, of standing by him under the trying circumstances, and even if I could do nothing else for him, at least of admonishing and comforting him. But after I had proceeded ten miles or half way, I met the Indian Chief Anderson or Kiktuchwenind, who with several others had come from there. From them I learned that Joshua had been put to death in the manner related above, and at the same time at Woapicamikunk that old Chief Tedpachsit met his fate near our place. I could not conceal my grief over poor Joshua's death and told the Chief that he had been innocent. But, with solemn mien, he told me that Joshua had received his just reward, as would the other wicked people among them, who, with poison and supernatural powers, put others out of the way. When I wanted to reproach him that the Indians put their own people to death in this manner, he said: 'You white people also try your criminals, and when they are found guilty, you hang them or kill them, and we do the same among ourselves.' Another of our Chiefs, Hokinkpomska by name, was likewise condemned for having poison and was even then under arrest, though it was not yet decided how he should fare.

"What terrible pain this occurrence gave us may readily be imagined! We did not know what to say or think of it. The continuance or destiny of our mission and our staying here longer, looked very dark to us, especially so, since we had heard that the Indians threatened to drive us away, or at least would advise us to leave the place before evil should befall us. Not to be frightened away by all sorts of evil reports, we resolved to inquire for ourselves from the Council at Woapicamikunk, so that we might learn the truth. For that reason I went there and asked the Council, which was still in session, to let us know without reserve, what it thought in regard to our longer stay here. This body declared that what we had heard had not come from them, but might have been said by some of their young people. Under the circumstances, they really could not tell us anything, because they had never called white teachers, but only their Indian relatives from the Muskingum, but of that number the families White Eyes and Kilbuck, whom they had especially invited, had not come, only a few others. We were therefore free and could do as we wished, either go or stay; that they had no intention of hurting us. After this declaration, they directed me to their arrested Chief Hackinkpomska, who in spite of the fact that he was at the time accused of being a poison-master and was to have his hearing and was under guard, had not laid aside his office. He agreed with the Council in saying, that formerly they did not know how to serve God, but recently He had raised up people from their own number, who spoke to them through sacrifices, and told them that in this way they might free themselves from all evil; they therefore did not need the help of white teachers any longer, as they formerly believed was necessary. Hereupon I made my way home again and we decided to remain here quietly, for the time being, and await the answer of our dear brethren at Bethlehem.

"All this happened in spring, in the month of March, 1806, after we had labored for almost five years without prospects of doing anything toward the conversion of the souls of these people. Though we fully expected to be called away, we considered it best to continue with our usual work, plant our corn and garden and look after our other duties, so as to be prepared, if the opposite should be the case. As it was, we could not expect an answer before the month of August, on account of our mail regulations and the distance of one hundred and thirty miles from the nearest postoffice. Meanwhile, we were greatly annoyed by the constant carousals going on in the next Indian village, three miles down the river.

Some of these drunken savages finally moved to our village, which they made their drinking-place.

"Under the circumstances, if we wanted to get out of the way of the disorder, there remained nothing for us to do but to lock our houses and flee to the woods and stay in our sugar-camp until the drinking was over. On one such occasion I was the last to leave the place, having spent some time in locking up, and consequently did not get away as soon as Bro. and Sr. Kluge and the children, and an Indian family that lived with us. When I was in the act of leaving, I had the unpleasant experience of being attacked by a drunken Indian, who caught sight of me. With violent words he called after me that I should wait until he had caught up with me. This done, he told me with great fierceness, after having rushed upon me, that I had to return with him and give him something to eat. I told him that everything had been locked up and that there was nothing to eat on hand, save a little sour milk in the shed. This seemed to satisfy him, but I had to go with him and hand it over to him. After he had drunk a little of it, he told me that I had to go with him to their drinking-place and drink whisky, which I refused to do.

"Finally he informed me that if I would not accompany him voluntarily and do as he demanded, he would compel me to go, whereupon he grabbed me and became violently angry, when I tried to tear myself away from him. After we had struggled a while and he found that he could not overpower me, he became still angrier, picked up a hatchet which lay near us, and held it over my head, and told me that if I would not walk in front of him, he would knock my brains out with it. I realized my danger and considered it the part of wisdom to accompany him. I told him that he should lead the way and I would follow him. Thereupon he said that I was his prisoner and had to walk in front of him, which I did. He therefore walked back of me, swinging the hatchet and howling and yelling that he had taken a white prisoner. An Indian woman had seen us from a distance and hurried to us and tried to wrench the hatchet out of his hand, but he gripped it all the harder, swung it about and cried that I was his prisoner. In this way we reached the drinking-place, where from seven to eight of his Delaware companions were assembled around a barrel of whisky. Among these was a certain Thomas White Eyes. My captor called out loudly again: 'Here I bring a white prisoner.' The former looked at him sternly and said: 'This is my friend, and if you hurt him in the least, you and I will have trouble.' He then told me that I should take a seat. He took the hatchet away from my persecutor and handed it to me. Turning to the Indian, he said: 'We like to drink whisky, but he does not, and I will not permit you to force my friend to do what goes against him.' Thereupon he told me that I could now return home in peace.

"Filled with gratitude to our dear Lord that He had provided me with a guardian angel to deliver me out of the hands of this wicked man, I made the most of the opportunity to get away, and went to a slight elevation in the woods, from where, unobserved, I watched the drinking for a while, and listened to the fierce yells which rent the air. The poor horses which they had brought or had caught in the neighborhood were raced up and down amid fearful yells and had to suffer a great deal from their cruelty. On such occasions it is customary for two to sit on one horse and then ride him at full speed, and not infrequently one or the other is hurt badly or even loses his life. It is a sad sight to watch these people in their madness, maltreating themselves and their beasts, in their drunkenness. One is reminded of the condition concerning which Paul wrote: 'The creature is subject to vanity against its will.'

"I then made my way to our sugar-hut which was nearby in the woods, where I met Bro. and Sr. Kluge with their children, and the Indian family living with us, and I told them what had happened and how things were in our village. After we had remained in hiding until evening and learned that our place was once more empty, we came out of our holes and went home. To our astonishment, we found everything undisturbed in and around our houses, which proved to us that the drunken Indians had entertained no evil intentions in regard to us, but merely desired to indulge their wickedness in our settlement and to frighten us a little, since only a few Indian families lived with us at the time. From such visits from the nearby Indian village, we had to suffer frequently while drinking was going on. At such times half-naked, drunken Indians would ride into our village at top-speed and fill the air with wild yells and demand something to eat, for they became quite famished from their carousing. It was safest for us to get out of the way and lock our houses or place something in front of the door to show that the inhabitants were not at home, since an Indian, in that case, will not easily take the liberty of entering, so as not to expose himself to the suspicion of wanting to steal, which among them is very much looked down upon and regarded as something despicable.

"The beginning of August I went to Cincinnati to get our mail from the postoffice. This time we expected to find an answer in regard to our future work, which we received, too, in a letter from Bro. Loskiel of Bethlehem, from which we learned that our post had been given up and that we might go to the locality which we had in mind. Thereupon preparations for leaving were made and we soon found an opportunity to exchange our cornfield, a number of hay-stacks, together with our small stock of cattle and some household goods, to a French trader, for four pack-horses, which, together with the three horses we had already, enabled us to undertake the journey through the woods to Fort Hamilton or the settlement of the whites on the Big Miami River. But when it became known that we were intending to leave, Chief Anderson, from the neighboring Indian village, and a number of his people visited us and told us that they came to inform us, that after the custom of the white people, the one who lived on the land of another had to pay rent; that we had now lived five years on their land and had never yet given them as much as a hog or an ox, with which they could have a good time, he had therefore come to tell us, in the name of the Chiefs and members of the Council, that they claimed a certain amount of our cattle, namely, a young ox, three hogs, and a table which had been made from wood which had grown on their land; that without this tribute, they would not dismiss us peacefully. We were therefore compelled, so as not to get into trouble with them, to turn over what they demanded, and to reimburse the trader in cash for the deduction.

"Sorrowfully we left the place, where we had passed through so many trials, but where we had apparently accomplished little for the good of the kingdom of God. We left two baptized adults behind us, namely, a Monsy woman who lived with her old Cherokee Indian, and a Putawattomi woman, who had a Frenchman for a husband. Both had been baptized by us and appeared sad to have us leave them. Trusting in the help of the Lord Who had so graciously stood by us thus far, and had not allowed us to succumb to our trouble, with seven horses, of which four were laden with our baggage and on three of which we missionaries sat, each holding a child of Bro. and Sr. Kluge, the biggest of them being five years old, we began our journey through the woods, on September 16. We soon learned that we could make our three or four days' journey through the woods alone, but that we would be compelled to hire a man to take charge of the pack-horses. After having traversed eight miles, we came across a Frenchman named Bruje, who had an Indian wife, in an Indian village, and who was willing to accompany us, for a dollar a day, as far as to the border of the white people, a distance of seventy miles, where we struck the large road which leads eastward through the State of Ohio. Here we had to remain a while, in order that I might go to Cincinnati, which we had left about thirty-five miles to the south of us, to furnish ourselves with the money needed for our journey.

"After my return, we exchanged one of our best horses for a wagon and hitched to it our horses and followed our road eastward over New Lebanon, New Lancaster, and Zanesville on the Muskingum River. When we were in the region of our brethren in Gnadenhuetten, our way leading us about thirty miles south of there, we embraced the good opportunity to send two of our horses, which we could spare, to Bro. Heckewelder to have sold for the benefit of the Missionary Society. Thereupon we came to Wheeling, where we had ourselves ferried across the Ohio River, thence drove through Somerset, Bedford, Strasburg, Shippensburg, thence over the mountains to Harrisburg, and finally arrived safe and sound, in the midst of our dear brethren at Lititz, on the 5th of November. Here we enjoyed sincere love and heartfelt interest. Strengthened in body and spirit, on the 10th, we continued our journey to Bethlehem, where we arrived safely, on November 12, and were warmly welcomed. Our hearts were filled with praise and gratitude toward God, who had, after six years' absence, kept His gracious hand of protection over us, amid our many trials in the Indian country as well as on our journey, and had permitted us to return in safety to the place whence we started out.

. . . .

"After my return from the White River in November, 1806, I sojourned in the Brethren's House at Bethlehem, for several months, and busied myself with the copying of the Delaware translation of the Harmony of the four Gospels. In the beginning of February, 1807, I received a temporary position in Nazareth Hall, where, in pleasant and intimate intercourse with the teachers, I spent seven months."

Luckenbach spent the next few months in charge of the store at Gnadenhütten on the Muskingum, then reentered missionary service with David Zeisberger and

Benjamin Mortimer at Goshen. During the winter he taught school, studied the Delaware language, and gathered wisdom in his dealings with the Indian congregation from the venerable Zeisberger. One of the latter's favorite maxims was: "If one wants to catch birds, one must not throw sticks at them."

A journey to Pettquotting on Lake Erie in April, 1808, was Luckenbach's next assignment. Internal and external difficulties were disturbing the Indian congregation there, and with the influx of settlers into the Firelands, it became necessary to find a new spot for the mission. Luckenbach, with Brother John Benjamin Haven, a single brother, was asked by the Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem "to make a journey, either by land or water, to Kikeyunk or Fort Wayne in order to find a suitable location for an Indian congregation. Since this desire could not be fulfilled in spring, the journey was postponed until the following August. In the interim," Luckenbach continues, "I went to Goshen on the Muskingum again, and then, at the appointed time, made my appearance at Petquotting. Accompanied by the single brother J. Haven and a number of Indian brethren, I began the journey on horseback. We followed a trail which led us over the Upper and Lower Sandusky, through the Indian towns of the Wyandottes and Senecas, who originally lived on the Sandusky, and through the villages of the Schawanos, whose original seat was on the Big Miami and Auglaize River, and touched the upper part of St. Mary's River, which we followed to its mouth at Fort Wayne, where it joins the St. Joseph River, thus forming the Maumee River, which empties itself into Lake Erie. At Fort Wayne, we consulted with Captain William Wells, who commanded a small fort on the Indian Reservation.[3] We then journeyed down the Maumee River, past Fort Defiance until we reached Fort Meigs (now Toledo), and from there made our way again to the Lower Sandusky and thence to Petquotting, after having made a circuit of 350-380 miles in eighteen days. Having been asked to bring the report to Bethlehem myself, I travelled on horseback through the woods from Petquotting to Goshen, a distance of eighty miles, a region which at that time had no white settlers. The beginning of October, I reached safely the Breth[r]en Zeisberger and Mortimer on the Muskingum. After a short stay with them, I resumed my journey to Bethlehem in company with Joseph Rice and his wife and his father. After spending six weeks at Bethlehem, Bro. Gotthard Cunow[4] and I went to Washington, by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore, to secure the protection of the Government for the Mission of the Brethren among the Indians in the United States. To this end, Bro. Cunow handed to Jefferson, who was President at that time, an address and short mission reports, as well as some printed Delaware translations."

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[3] Wells was Indian agent, not commandant at Fort Wayne. This position was held by Captain Nathan Heald from 1807 to 1810.

Luckenbach returned to Goshen, arriving there January 1, 1809. Zeisberger had died the previous November, and Luckenbach remained to assist Brother and Sister Mortimer. In April, however, he was called to Fairfield, Canada. Two years stay here proved disappointing. "The hearts of the Delawares and Monsys in that region," says the missionary, "seemed for the time to be closed against the teaching of the Gospel, because they feared their Chiefs and relatives. Not until their neighbors, the Chippewas, accepted the Word of God, did they do likewise."

In 1811 an attempt was made "to gather the Christian Indians who were scattered from Petquotting to the Sandusky." Luckenbach called on Governor Hull, at Detroit, to commend the undertaking to the protection of the government, and stopped at Malden to see Captain Matthew Elliot, "who . . . assisted by the Half-king of the Huron Indians, in the fall of . . . 1781, brought the Indian congregation, by force, from the Muskingum River to the

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[4] Gebhard Cunow.

Upper Sandusky and greatly maltreated the missionaries. He was now an old man and sought to help the mission wherever he could."

Proceeding to the Lower Sandusky, Luckenbach met Joachim Hagen, who was to be associated with him. In this neighborhood the "Monsys had settled, in three small villages, near the Wyandottes and Hurons, to whom the land really belonged." "Forty miles south-east," lay the Delaware village "Green Town or Armstrong Town," near the site of the present Mansfield. Luckenbach and Hagen visited all these towns, but found "that the inhabitants did not want their Chiefs to suspect them of having anything to do with Christianity, for fear of being persecuted by those inclined to heathenism. Many of the latter class are so prejudiced against the white people that they hold in disdain everything that comes from them, and declare that the Indians had been forsaken by their gods, because they had adopted the customs and teachings of the white people. In this connection, however, it is wonderful that they except whisky, for that in no wise falls under their displeasure."

Winter and spring were spent on the Sandusky. Few Indians came to the meetings held by the missionaries, for "their minds were filled with the thought of hunting, and furthermore a report had spread among them that war had broken out between the United States and England. This plunged them into great unrest. After they had held a daily council for a number of weeks in their long house, and had deliberated whether they should plant corn and await the scene of battle here, or leave and side with the English, they finally decided upon the latter course, whereupon the whole Monsy settlement broke up, during the month of May. In canoes prepared for the occasion, they crossed Lake Erie and went to Malden, where they joined the English. With the exception of the Wyandottes, who had their settlement three miles farther up stream, where a store and a schoolhouse had been built for them on the reservation land which they had transferred to the United States, we were now quite forsaken.

"Earnest preparations were now made for war. A small fort with soldiers was established here, on the reservation, at the United States' store, and we were advised to go there for safety. To this we gladly consented, because we were quite alone. We remained until fall at the fort on the reservation. From there, I made a visit, during the summer, to the Upper Sandusky, forty miles away, where was the original seat of the Wyandotte Indians, and while with them preached to them the Word of God in their Council House, in the Delaware language, which many of them understood, so that they could translate what was said into Wyandotte. I also visited the Seneca villages which lay half way between the Lower and Upper Sandusky and acquainted them with my purpose. Here I was lodged in their Council House and provided with a kettleful of boiled venison and corn, for which a wooden spoon, after the Indian custom, was placed in front of me. They brought me a number of deerskins for my bed for the night. Next morning I was visited by two Chiefs, of whom the one could talk some English. With very solemn faces, they sought to make it clear to me that my efforts to preach to them the Word of God could not be accepted, first, because they had decided to hold to the manners and customs of their forefathers and therefore had no desire to have anything to do with the teaching of the white people; secondly, they had no interpreter who would be able to translate the English or Delaware into their language.

"Meanwhile, the unrest caused by the war became greater, but we believed ourselves safe where we were because Detroit was provided with a strong garrison under Governor Hull. This continued until the middle of October, when all of a sudden the most terrible report reached us, that the latter, after a feeble defence, had surrendered Detroit to England, and that, in consequence of this, the English soldiers might be expected in Sandusky the next day (the day after we had heard the report). This created the greatest consternation among the inhabitants of the fort, as well as among the Indians, and everybody, we included, made preparations to flee with the greatest possible haste. The Wyandottes in the Lower Sandusky fled to the Upper Sandusky, as did also the Senecas. They drove their cattle before them and everybody had to look out for himself. With the assistance of a man who had pack-horses, we had the good fortune of bringing away our best belongings, though we suffered the loss of a great many useful things which could not be packed. In company with three white families and their children, who had a wagon between them, we began our journey to the Upper Sandusky. Bro. Hagen rode on our horse. Thus far we had not seen anything of the enemy, but it was not long after, that they appeared in the Lower Sandusky, where the fort was attacked but not taken. A skirmishing-party of British Indians had ventured into the region and had murdered a number of white families near Mansfield.

"In the course of a week we reached Muskingum or Goshen, having been detained on the way for a number of days, by fever. . . . Wherever we went on our journey, we met frontier settlers in the greatest alarm making preparations for flight. We saw their wagons, loaded with household effects, standing in front of the houses, ready to drive off at a moment's notice, should the signal be given. At Goshen there was also considerable unrest, but this was of a different character. This was due to the great suspicion which many of the white people in the neighborhood entertained against the Indian brethren. It was believed that they secretly sympathized with their relatives who had joined the English. This brought about unavoidable hatred against them and all eyes watched their every movement, so that, for a while, a guard, consisting of trustworthy persons, was kept in the village in order to allay suspicion and to get rid of the slander."

Luckenbach was left alone at the mission in November, and passed a quiet winter with the Indian congregation. In April, however, an "English" Indian appeared at the sugar camps of the Goshen Indians, ostensibly to find his mother and sister and take them north with him. Luckenbach knew nothing of his coming. The Indian had been seen by the whites at Mansfield, however. He was suspected of spying, and of complicity in a murder near Mansfield the preceding fall. The angry whites pursued him to New Philadelphia, and from there a searching party advanced on the Goshen settlement. Luckenbach, taken completely by surprise, saw his house searched from top to bottom, and had great difficulty persuading the New Philadelphians that he was not in collusion with the Indians. The suspect Indian and his friends fled to an island in the Muskingum, and hid in the woods. Luckenbach, fearing bloodshed, begged them to surrender voluntarily, and this they finally did. Three Indians were carried off prisoner to New Philadelphia where they were kept in chains for several weeks. Intercession with Governor Meigs secured their hearing at Chillicothe instead of New Philadelphia and they were eventually freed. "The enmity of the white people in the neighborhood . . . continually increased against the Indian brethren in Goshen. They were believed to be in danger because of these bitter feelings which many cherished against them, therefore good friends and well-wishers advised them to break up their settlement and to remove to another neighborhood, where they would be under the protection of the Government. Their answer, however, was: 'God can protect us here, too, if it is His will; if not, we prefer to die on our own rather than on strange land.' "

A visit from several members of the Lititz congregation brought joy to Goshen in September, 1813. With this party came Rosina Heckedorn, who had been chosen by lot, according to the custom of the Brethren, as Luckenbach's bride. They were married September 8 before the Goshen congregation and friends from near-by Sharon and Gnadenhütten. For six and a half years the Luckenbach family remained at Goshen, faithfully carrying on their work with the six or seven Indian families who had not gone over to the English during the war. Three daughters were born to them, the first-born dying in infancy.

It was near the end of May, 1820, when Luckenbach left the Goshen congregation for the mission at New Fairfield, Canada. This was his home until his retirement from service in 1843. "By the abandonment of Goshen on the Muskingum, the congregation at New Fairfield received a considerable increase, in the year 1821, through the Indian families of Kilbuck and White Eyes, together with others." Two years later, the encroaching white settlers threatened the congregation, but through government intervention lands were secured to them at a distance of some three miles from the white settlers. There was constant trouble over the whisky trade and over the distribution of annuity presents to the Indians. Nevertheless the settlement made some progress. In 1825 Luckenbach and his wife took their elder daughter to Bethlehem to put her in school, and while there, Luckenbach secured funds for a new church building at New Fairfield. Its dedication in September, 1828, gave him great joy and encouraged the mission Indians.

Leaving the mission in charge of his assistants, Luckenbach made another journey to Bethlehem about 1830, taking his eleven-year-old daughter for her first year of boarding school. One of his important undertakings after his return to New Fairfield was the translation of a Bible History of the Old and New Testament into Delaware.[5]

"The years 1836-1837 were hard and discouraging . . .

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[5] *Forty-Six Select Scripture Narratives from the Old Testament. Embellished with Engravings, for the Use of Indian Youth. Translated into Delaware Indian, by A. Luckenbach* (Daniel Fanshaw, 150 Nassau St., New York, 1838). A printed copy of the New Testament translation has not been found. A manuscript booklet in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, carries the title, "Fifty-Two Scripture Narratives from the New Testament. Translated into Delaware by Abr. Luckenbach. 1836."

since a part of the Indian congregation left for the West with the idea of settling on the Missouri River." Quarrels concerning the division of lands and annuities marked the separation, the departing Indians insisting on turning their share of Indian lands into an annuity, and the remaining band protesting against the consequent curtailment of their hunting lands.

Although the congregation was considerably reduced, the best part had remained, and quiet and reverence seemed to increase. The Governor arranged for their continued use of their hunting fields, and agricultural development improved due to the fields that the departing group had left free for cultivation. Luckenbach's last years at New Fairfield were therefore happy ones. During the winter of 1842-43 his health gave way, and he asked for release. Of his parting from the congregation he says, "It gave us not a little sorrow to separate ourselves entirely from the fellowship of the dear Indian congregation, after having served it for twenty-three years and having passed through so many experiences with it, and far rather would we have closed the years of our life among them, if other conditions had not made it necessary to seek our little place of retirement in the Church."

With extracts from the autobiography which were printed in the Moravian Church *Miscellany* (Bethlehem, May, June, 1854), is printed the following appendix, written by his children.

"Our sainted Father selected Bethlehem as his resting station, whereby the family circle, which had been disrupted for a number of years, was reunited. On their way hither, the aged couple paid a last visit to the first scene of their missionary activity, as well as to the grave of their firstborn daughter, on the banks of the Muskingum, and arrived here some time in July, 1843.

"The external changes which the congregation had undergone, during his long absence of forty years therefrom, (a few hasty visits excepted), as well as his sudden exhonoration from all those ministerial duties he had so long been accustomed to perform, did not suffer him at first to enjoy his rest so highly as either he had hoped for, or we had wished. Soon, however, he found employment adapted to his reduced strength, not only in visiting the sick and administering to them the consolation of the gospel, but also by distributing religious tracts among the spiritually destitute boatmen on the Lehigh canal. A new edition of the Delaware Indian hymnbook being demanded, the American Tract Society having engaged itself to defray the printing expenses, he cheerfully acceded to the request of the P. H. Conference to undertake the revision of this work, for which, owing to his rare knowledge of this difficult language, he was singularly qualified.[6] When engaged in this employment, he seemed to retrace the earlier scenes of his first christian love, so that while erecting this last monument of his love to the red sons of the forest, his spirit felt so much revived, as to cause him to forget the depression of old age.

"Although the infirmities of increasing years were gradually accumulating upon him, yet on the whole, he enjoyed a tolerable share of health, so that he was but rarely prevented from regularly attending the services of the sanctuary, which at all times proved a rich solace to his heart.

"Owing to the peculiarity of his bodily complaints, he, as well as we, were frequently apprehensive, that the closing scenes of his life would be excessively painful. But the Lord graciously heard and answered his prayers and ours, by very considerably abating the poignancy of his sufferings at the last. About five weeks before he died, he was seized by a slow fever, which so reduced his remaining strength, that he soon became convinced that the Lord would cause this illness to terminate in his dissolution. It was to him a great source of consolation, that it pleased the Lord to enable his partner, who for forty years had taken a lively share in all his joys and sorrows to nurse and tend on him; and sometimes he even forgot his own sufferings, while laboring under the apprehension, that she might be broken down by over-exertion and fatigue in waiting upon him.

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[6] *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the Delaware Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren, in North America. Second Edition Revised and Abridged by A. Luckenbach* (J. and W. Held, Bethlehem, 1847). The volume contains the Church litany, Easter morning litany, litany at burials, and a collection of 439 hymns with two additional hymns in the Appendix.

"Agreeably to his own request, the benediction of the Lord and his church was imparted to him on Friday afternoon, the third of March, when he feebly, yet cheerfully joined in singing the hymns sung at his bedside. May the sweet and sensible realization of the presence of his Lord and Master, with which we were favored on that solemn occasion, be ever held in remembrance by us.

"Strengthened in the inner man, while the outward one was visibly sinking away, and with the eye of faith constantly fixed on his crucified Redeemer, he patiently waited for the hour of his dismissal, which, almost unperceived by us, removed him at last to the mansions of eternal joy, at twelve o'clock at midnight, of the 8th of March, 1854; at the age of 76 years, 10 months and 3 days."

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